A Study of Life and Works

of

SHAH WALI ALLAH

by

DR. FAZLE MAHMUD

M. A., Ph. D. (Calcutta)

MAKTABA RASHIDIA

32–A, Shah Alam Market,

LAHORE (Pakistan)

Price Rs. 12.00

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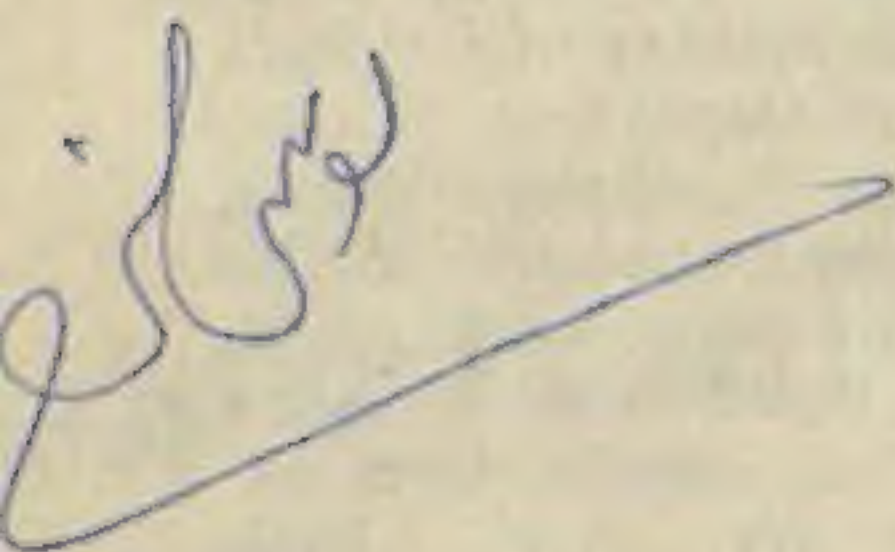
PREFACE

The Present volume is the result of studies for several years of Shah Wali Allah's works on various topics, particularly scholasticism or ilm ul Kalam. To complete this effort the writer had to cross a number of hurdles which sometimes appeared to be quite insurmountable. But thanks to prompt help from the teachers especially Dr. M. Z. Siddiqui of the University of Calcutta, and his own perseverance, all the difficulties were overcome and the work made its head-way towards completion.

The greatest difficulty which the writer had to face in this connection was the procurement of Shah Sahib's works in published or mannscript form. The libraries of Bengal Asiatic Society and the Universities of Calcutta and Santinikatan had only a few of his important books. So he had to hunt up other places like Bankipur (Patna), Delhi, Aligarh, Karachi, Lucknow and Lahore for his writings. Rotograph copies of some important documents were obtained from Paris, Bonn and London through the efforts of Prof. Dr. P C. Bagchi, later on. Vice Chancellor of the Tagore University. Prof. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami's book "Shah Wali Allah's Political Letters", edited and published from Aligarh proved very valuable for this volume, because Shah Sahib in his letters had thrown much light on the events of that period (1704 – 1765) a period of great storms and upheavals.

The publications of the Sind Sagar Academy, Lahore with illuminating introductions by Prof. M. Sarwar were really helpful in checking up the facts. Some more publications on the subject brought out by the Sindh Sagar Academy, Hyderabad, were found also quite useful. The periodical "Ar-Rahim" of the same Society which published quite a large number of articles on, or about Shah Wali Allah, provided material for removing the factual defects.

The second great difficulty was to bring out the work into a book form. There has been much delay in the publication. This was partly due to the publishers' lack of interest in such sophisticated works, and partly to the writer's own financial worries. However, with the assistance of the World Light Press the writings have seen the light of the day and it is expected the scholars would appreciate these humble efforts.

This work would really have been further delayed if the writer had not been encouraged by Prof. A. Qayyum, and his colleagues, Prof. Afzal Naseem and Mr. M. Nawaz who also went through the manuscript and made valuable suggestions

Dated : 1st October 1972 FAZLE MAHMUD

Shah Waliyullah

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LIFE AND WORKS OF SHAH WALI ALLAH

(*i*) INTRODUCTION

CIRCUMSTANCES of a piquant and persistant nature invariably bring about a change in the mentality of a people directly connected with them. A comparison between the muslims of early Muhammadan Rule in India and those of early eighteenth century provide us with a good illustration to support this statement. The unity of purpose and ruthlessness of action which characterised the early muslims, are not to be found in the muslims of the later times.

The reason is not far to seek. As centuries passed with the muslims ruling the land, one dynasty after the other, the community in general was led to believe that there could not be any people strong enough to wrest power from them. Self-complacency reached such a pitch that even factors absolutely essential to keep power in hand were lost sight of. Over and above, political and strategical blunders on the part of some persons in authority made matters still worse. After Aurangzeb (d.1707) the soft policy of successors towards the non-muslim subjects of the empire made the latter bold and conscious about their self-interest. It provided them with incitement for action. As the strife for succession among the sons of Aurangzeb progressed, taking toll of life and destroying the morale of the ruling class, several sections of the non-muslims started their activity against the mughals devastating the land from one end to the other.

The reign of terror did not stop with the victory of Bahadur Shah (1707-1712) and his succession to the throne. The new ruler was too old to stand the heavy strain of the vast administration and reorganisation of the fighting forces. He gave himself up to a life of ease and comfort.

Bahadur Shah, pious as his father but not so strong and efficient, had ideosyncracies which did not befit a descendant of Babur and a ruler of a vast empire. For instance, at a time when chaos was the order of the day, he marched against an enemy in a spirit of going on a hunting expedition. He was not at all ashamed to return from an expedition unsuccessful or defeated. It was very amusing that very often he refused to march against a rebel whom he regarded as below his standard. While he was in Lahore, he organised debates between *Shias* and *Sunnies* and enjoyed their discussions. The brigands would come at night and loot the provincial capital right under his nose. Once he ordered all the dogs of Lahore to be killed because they did not let the angels descend upon the city ! So was he, the emperor of India and the protector of the faith !

The successors of Bahadur Shah were no better, or rather they were more degenerated than he. Every one of them loved a life of pleasure, letting the nobles take care of the state. The nobles on their part were no less devoted to pleasure and comfort. Their bacchanalian habits and great pomp and show even surpassed the feudal lords of Rome and Persia of the sixth century[1]. They were divided into various factions (three of which *viz.*, Indian, Turkish, Persian were the main) each trying to outmanoeuvre the others. The court was full of intrigues and mutual mistrust and for that reason no effective expedition could be sent against any rebel. The crown of the great mughal, due to such intrigues, had virtually become a toy in their hands[2]. The treasury was empty and the unpaid soldiery had become disloyal. In fact, with the rein of authority in the hands of such selfish rulers there was no possibility of defending the faith and protecting the faithful.

It was not only the political field that was so badly affected ; the religion was also regularly betrayed by the so-

1. Vide Hujjat : I, 199.
2. Vide Shah Wali Allah ke Siyasi Maktubat : p. 52.

called sufis and jurists of the empire. It was virtually split up into various sects and schisms. The main occupation of the members of each sect was nothing but to outwit the other by peculiar argumentation. Scholasticism, mysticism and the commands of the shariat were confused with one another by them and they interpreted common masa'il as they liked. Mysticism and the sayings of the great saints had virtually superseded the verses of the Quran and the Hadith[3]. In fact, the religion was confined to some superstitious rites.

Vandalism of the nobles and the squabbles of the learned men and the sufis had adversely affected the masses. Due to heavy taxes imposed on them the craftsmen were reduced to poverty and immorality. (Vide At-Tafhimat). A large number of people went idle and drew on the state treasury. They claimed to be the descendants of some religious leaders. In short, the muslims as a nation were on the verge of ruin; and it was a pity that no one was concious of the imminent danger. It was at this time that Shah Wali Allah appeared on the scene.

In fact, it is in the interest of God that the life of the world should run smooth, there should be no aggression and the aggressor. He wants that all should lead a life of mutual sympathy and cooperation. If the affairs go bad anywhere, He inspires some one to take up the task of putting things back to normal. It is for this reason, that usually a renovator of the faith is sent at the beginning of every century.[4]

Shah Wali Allah possessed the talents and was provided by nature with the opportunities to develop them on the right line that go in the making of a Renovator of the Faith—a representative of the Prophet on the earth. Shah Wali Allah studied the situation from different angles and realised the actual cause that lay at the root of the evil. He took upon himself the task of reforms and proposed to make a start with the eradication of the real cause. He pointed out defects in the general behaviour of the rulers and the ruled and suggested remedy for them (vide Siyasi Maktubat : pp. 41-44). He wrote occa-

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3. Vide Al-Furqan (Shah Wali Allah Number) p. 97.
(Quotation from At-Tafhimat).

4. Vide Hujjat : II, 169. Hadith of the holy Prophet is quoted in the collection.

sionally to men in authority to suppress the revolts and assuage the sufferings of the common people. He laid emphasis on the fact that the muslims must change their outlook towards life, and revert under all circumstances to the simple ways of early Islam. He believed an unbiased study of the scriptures (Quran and Hadith) would automatically compose the differences of the various sects of the nation.

SHAH WALI ALLAH'S BIRTH :

Shah Wali Allah, one of the great theologians, philosophers, and muslim reformers, was born at Delhi or Phalat (District Muzaffarnagar) on the 4th of Shawwal, 1114 A. H. (1703), in a family already distinguished for its learning and swordsmanship. The position of the stars at the time of his birth suggested extreme auspiciousness and as such predicted the child to rise to the great heights of eminence, to be a bright luminary in the galaxy of scholarship and erudition.[5]

Shah Wali Allah's birth as in the case of all great men of the past, especially religious reformers, was announced in visions and dreams to his parents and others. His father, Shah Abdur Rahim, was once informed in a vision at the tomb of Khwaja Qutubuddin Bakhtiar Kaki (d. 634/1236), a disciple of Khwaja Mu'inuddin Chishti of Ajmer, that God would bless him with a son really worthy of him. As his wife had reached the age of sterility, he interpreted the vision as a blessing for an intelligent khalifa or successor. But the Khwaja cleared up the doubts by saying that the son would be his own flesh and blood, and that he should name the child after him *i.e.*, Qutubuddin.[6]

Shah Abdur Rahim was nearly sixty at that time. But as directed by the Khwaja (despite the taunts and annoyance of others), he married for the second time. It is related that sometime before the birth of Shah Wali Allah, Shah Abdur Rahim and his wife as they were busy in morning prayer, saw two

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5 Anfasul 'Arifin : p. 2.2. Some of the astrologers by the position of the heavenly bodies declared that the star at the time of birth was in second degree pisces, the sun had risen one degree, the Saturn was in the tenth degree of Aries ; the Jupitor in its 15th degree ; and that the year was of the brightest conjunction and it was in the degree of Taurus ; and the Mars in its 2nd Degree and Dragons head in the Cancer. (J. A. S. B.)

6. Anfasul Arifin : p. 44.

little hands raised with them in invocation to the Almighty. Shah Abdur Rahim took it to be the hands of his son that was yet to be born.[7]

SHAH WALI ALLAH'S ANCESTORS :

Shah Wali Allah traces his origin from his father's side to Hazrat Umar Faruq, the second Caliph of the Prophet Muhammad, and from mother's side to Imam Musa Kazim (d. 138/755), the great grand son of Hazrat Ali, the fourth Caliph of the Prophet.[8] The family's connection with two great sons of Islam, distinguished for statesmanship and learning, can lead us to presume that it might have inherited the great qualities of its proginators.[9]

According to Shah Wali Allah's report, the first of his ancestors who migrated to India from Turkistan or middle East was Shaikh Shamsuddin Mufti.[10] It is difficult for us to ascertain the date of his arrival in India, but by rough calculation, taking three generations in a century, Shamsuddin may be supposed to have come somewhere during the reign of Sultan Ghiathuddin Balban (664-685 A. H. 1265-1286). May be, he had migrated to India as forced by the rough treatment of the mongolian hordes which were carrying fire and sword every where.

On his arrival in India, Shamsuddin settled down at Rohtak, a town situated thirty miles away towards the north west of Delhi. Rohtak was a flourishing centre of business and culture at that time. Shamsuddin is said to be the first of the Qurai-

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7. Ibid. At his birth, the child was named *Wali Allah*. But when he remebered the words of the Khwaja, Shah Abdur Rahim renamed him Qutubuddin. Shah Wali's full name as he mentions in his works is "Abul Faid Qutubuddin Ahmed alias Wali Allah."

8. Anfas : p. 158 Shah Sahib's ancestor lived in Yemen.

9. Umar Faruq, is renowned for his statesmanship and determination and Ali for his chivalry and learning.

10. Shah Wali Allah gives his genealogical table thus : 'Abdur Rahim, Wajihuddin, Mu'azzam, Mansur, Ahmad, Mahmud, Kama'uddin, Qazhan, Qasim, Qadi Budha, 'Abdul Malik, Qutubuddin, Kamal Din, Shamas Din, Ata Malik, 'Abdul Fath, Muhammad 'Umar, 'Abdul Malik, Faruq, Jurji, Ahmad, Sharyar, 'Uthman, Haman, Humayum, Quraish, Sulaiman Affan, 'Abdullah, Muhammad, 'Abdullah, 'Umar Faruq. It is related In the biography of Maulave Fazl Huq Khairabadi that his great grand father Kamaluddin came with mufti shamsuddin.

shites to settle there. He was a reputed scholar of theology and mysticism and was therefore much respected by the people of the town.

Shamsuddin opened a school at Rohtak and taught Quran and Hadith to the students whom his name had attracted there from different parts of the country. In recognition to his services to the religion and for his profound knowledge of it, he was made the Mufti or consulting judge of Rohtak. He held this honorary office throughout his life. Even after his death, the muftiship was retained by his descendants for generations until someone (named Muhmud) of the family renounced it in favour of military service and passed his life in the cantonments or fields of battles.

Shaikh Shamsuddin was not merely a scholar of the Quran and Hadith, he was also a sufi in the real sense of the term[11]. A number of miracles have been ascribed to him. It is said, that at the time of his death, he advised his friends and relations to leave his bier after the prayer in the mosque. It was done according to his instructions. But his bier later on was found without his corpse[12].

It is said, that with Shaikh Mahmud the family changed its profession from teaching and study to fighting and distinguished itself in that field too. Shaikh Mahmud's son, Ahmad, and grandson Mansur, and great grandson, Mu'azzam, were great soldiers. It is related Mansur once was in command of the force sent to subdue a hindu raja. His son Mu'azzam was also with him. At the time of the general charge, Mansur gave his twelve year old son Mu'azzam the command of the right wing. Mu'azzam held his position admirably well, but soon the rumour went round that Mansur (father) was killed. The news made the boy-commander desperate, and he penetrated deep into the enemy lines alone as far as the elephant of the raja. The raja appreciating the gallant spirit of the boy ordered his troops to desist from doing him any harm. The raja informed the boy that his father was yet alive and fighting. It is said that the small boy at last became the cause of truce between the armies[12].

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11. At the time when shamsuddin lived, sufism was very popular among the Muslims. Really very great sufis can be named as his contemporaries

12. Ibid. 161.

Shaikh Mu'azzam was renowned for his strength of will, undaunted courage, and large heartedness. Shah Wali Allah's father, Shah Abdur Rahim, heard it from an old peasant of Shikuhpur, a village in Mu'azzam's Jagir, that he saw the Shaikh fighting against a big gang of robbers which had raided that village. The Shaikh being a good marksman shot down a number of robbers and brought the rest to such a tight corner that they had no option but to surrender to him. He brought the robbers back to the village and returned the looted property to the peasants[13].

Shaikh Mu'azzam was survived by three sons, Jamal, Feroz and Wajihuddin. Shaikh Wajihuddin about whom we have received a comparatively detailed information, was a true picture of his father. He was a gallant soldier, a great scholar and a mystic. He held a high rank in the mughal army and sided with the prince Aurangzeb in the war that started for the throne among the sons of Shah Jahan in 1068/1657.

Shah Wajihuddin possessed courage to jump into the fray singlehanded and fearlessly. It was due to his unusual boldness, presence of mind and tactics that the almost defeated army of Aurangzeb won a great victory over the well-equipped troops of Shah Shuja'. In the most critical moment of the war when Aurangzeb's forces were on the verge of disastrous defeat, had no courage to face the wild elephants brought into action by Shuja', were retreating leaving behind only four soldiers to meet the onrush of the enemy. Shah Wajihuddin's prompt action turned the situation of the war. Shah Wajihuddin being one of the soldiers left behind, commanded his comrades to follow him as he was going to attack the advancing line of the elephants. Without a moment's loss, he ran up to the elephant leading the others and cut down its trunk. The wild animal turned its back and fell upon the force of Shuja'. This sudden and unexpected fury on the part of their own elephant caused a stampede, providing the army of Aurangzeb with an opportunity to make a fresh charge. The scattered enemy was hotly pursued and annihilated. The field was left in the hands of Aurangzeb. The prince who was an eye witness to this display of remarkable courage, presented Shah Wajihuddin with a sword and offered

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13. Ibid. 162.

him a high rank, which the latter unceremoniously refused to accept.[14]

In his old age, Shah Wajihuddin was excused from active service and had virtually developed a disliking for the wars ; but his desire for a martyr's death yet lingered in his mind and occasionally urged him to take up the sword once again. One morning, as inspired with the hope of getting his object, he started for the Deccan—notorious cockpit of war in the mughal period-to join the imperial army at war with the marathas. But he was killed on the way on the bank of the Narbada in a skirmish with the highwaymen. He fought against the gang as valiantly as he did in his youth. He continued the fight until he received as many as twenty severe wounds and fell down and his head was severed from his body[15].

Shah Wajihuddin was a god fearing man with abstemious habits and polite manners. There was nothing of wrecklessness of the medieval soldiery in him. He never let his personal considerations sway over his good intentions and his duty. Even in his dire need, as his provisions ran short, he never allowed his horses stray into the fields of the peasants as other troopers did ; he always depended on his own resources[16].

Shah Wajihuddin was survived by three sons, Abu Rida, 'Abdur Rahim, and 'Abdul Hakim Shah 'Abdur Rahim, father of Shah Wali Allah, the hero of our dissertation, was the most distinguished of the three brothers, on account of his comparatively great achievements in the field of exoteric and esoteric sciences. No doubt he was gifted with the physique and spirit that is essential for a military career.

Shah 'Abdur Rahim was born in A. H. 1054/1644 A C. probably at Rohtak. He recevied his early education from his father Shah Wajihuddin and his elder brother Shaikh Abu Rida[17].

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14. Ibid. 165. Vida also Islamic Culture 1947 : p. 358. article of Saghir Hasan Masumi) Aurangzeb defeated Shah Shuja' in the battle of Khajwa (Behar) in January, 1659 A.D.

15. Ibid. p. 167.

16. Ibid. p. 162.

17. Shaikh Abu Rida Muhammad (d. 1101 A.H. 1689.) was an eminent scholar of hadith and a great sufi of his time. In his Anfas (p. 87) Shah Wali Allah has given a detailed note on his life and his mystical views.

He attended for sometime at Agra lectures of Mir Zahid Harvi, who was famous for his great scholarship in Fiqh, philosophy and scholasticism[18]. Owing to his love for learning and capacity to grasp things with smartness and ease, Shah Abdur Rahim had become a favourite pupil of Mir Zahid. Even during his student life he had made good name among the jurists and traditionists of his time.

At the time of compilation of the Fatawa-i-Alamgiri[19], a valuable work on Islamic law, a board of prominent jurists under the supervision of Mulla Nizam, was set up for the purpose. Shah Abdur Rahim was on the committee responsible for the revision of the parts compiled[20]. The Shah was hesitant to enter into the service of the king, but he had to accept it for the sake of his mother who thought it would relieve the family of financial worries. He did not work long there, as he had to relinquish it soon at the instance of his preceptor, Khwaja Abul Qasim of Agra who regarded dependence upon the royal subsistence as an obstacle in the way of his spiritual perfection[21].

After staying for a pretty long time at Agra, with Mir Zahid and Khwaja 'Abdullah and Khwaja Abul Qasim, and having achieved proficiency in various sciences and mysticism, Shah Abdur Rahim came to Delhi and settled down there Like his great ancestor Shaikh Shamsuddin he opened a school in Kotla Ferozeshah where he made arrangement for teaching Quran and hadith. The school was known after him as Madrasa'-i-Rahimia.

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18. Mir Zahid son of Qadi Aslam of Herat came to India during Jahangir's reign and was appointed the chief Justice of Delhi. In 1054/1653 A.H. Shah Jahan made him the chronoicler of Kabul. In 1077/1695 he returned to Agra and was appointed the Muhtasib of the garrison there Mir Zahid was also a sufi of the Naqshbandi Order. (Vide for the Life of Mir Zahid Anfas p. 33).

19 Fatawa'i Alamgiri or Fatawa'i Hindia is an important book on Fiqh compiled at the instance of Aurangzeb, on the line of Hidaya. A fairly large number of great ulamas took part in its compilation. The book was translated into persian by 'Abdullah Chalpi. (Ma' arif 1947).

20. Anfas : p. 24.

21. Ibid. p. 24. Actually his colleagues arranged for his dismissal from the committee, for he wrote something on the Ms on account of which Mulla Nizam and Mulla Hamid were taken to task by the King.

Schools in those days were only private enterprises, started by individuals at their own initiative for the purpose of social service. They were mostly residential and mono-pedagogic institutions which often died down after the death of the founder. The royal subsidiary grants were occasional if the head of the school had some connection with the court or if it had really gained popularity and success.

The school of Shah 'Abdur Rahim was started at such a happy moment that it was not to die down immediately after the death of its founder. Nay, it was destined to flourish even with greater success after him. He left behind him his sons who made the school an everlasting institution The present generation of theologians and traditionists, it must be admitted owes their knowledge to the graduates of that great madrasa, and most of the religious institutions which now exist in this subcontinent are the off-shoots of the same centre of learning.

This school was the first in many centuries in India where geater emphasis was put on the study of the hadith than the Fiqh, which erstwhile had been regarded more important than any other subject.

Besides being master of theoretical knolwedge of different sciences, Shah 'Abdur Rahim like his elders, was a mystic of great calibre. He is said to have gone many stages on the path of spiritualism He was the disciple, as stated above, of Shaikh 'Abdullah, a Khalifa (successor) of the great saint Shaikh Adam Banauri, and of Shaikh Abul Qasim of Agra. Abul Qasim often advised him to meet other saints as well and get adventage of their company. Shah 'Abdur Rahim's ancestors, one and all, were the disciples of the Chishtia Order. But he preferred to be a follower of the Naqshbandi Order. Shah Wali Allah writes that Shah 'Abdur Rahim had attained such a spiritual power that he could tamper with the natural course of actions ; *e g.* he could heal incurable diseases, undrstand the language of the beasts, and talk to the spirits[22]. Of his writings only a number of letters published by the Mujtabai Press in 1915, his talks quoted in the Anfas and a few verses quoted here and there in Shah Wali Allah's works have survived. Shah 'Abdur Rahim died in 1131 A.H at the age of seventy seven.

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22. Anfas : p. 37—50.

Shah 'Abdur Rahim was survived by three sons, Shah Wali Allah, Shah Mubibbullah, and Shah Ahlullah[23]. Shah Wali Allah the eldest was born on 4th of Shawwal, 1114 at Delhi or Phalat (District Muzaffarnagar-Bharat) at the house of the parents of his mother. At the age of five he started attending his father's school at Delhi. Shah Wali Allah had inherited all the natural gifts of his father, nay a little more, for learning things without any difficulty. Besides, he had greater opportunities for the development of his talents and natural gifts and aptitudes than his father. So, he had more chances for the service of the community and with greater success. He was just seven when he learnt the Quran by heart and was able to understand even the difficult verses without any help.

Thereafter, he took to the study of Persian and Arabic languages and literature, and attained sufficient mastery over both of them. H could now follow some preliminary books of philosphical subjects. It was at the age of fifteen only that he completed the dars or prescribed course of the Madrasa[24]. The occasion was celebrated by a big fete wherein all the relations and friends were present. In the midst of applause and jubilations, Shah Wali Allah was granted by his father the "diploma" and the permission to teach subjects he had learnt and wished him good luck on the perilous path of life.[25]

After the cermony, Shah Wali Allah began to help his father in his teaching work. At the same time he continued his own studies with his father, attending his lectures regularly delivered on tafsir and hadith (Commentary and Tradition).

Shah Wali Allah's marriage was celebrated rather in a hurry He was yet fourteen when his father proposed to the parents of the bride for the solemnisation of his marriage. But owing to lack of necessary provisions they (brides' family) objected to that unusual haste. But Shah 'Abdur Rahim obliged them to accept the proposal for certain reasons which he did not like to disclose. The reason, however, was brought to light soon by the turn of the events. After the marriage, death entered the family, and the house was left in a state of see-

23. Shah Wali Allah had a step-brother named Salahuddin (Anf. 830).

24. Anfas. p. 203. The course included Tafsir Al-Baidavi, Mishkat, Hidaya and Waqaya, and books on Logic, Kalam etc.

25. Ibid.

thing convulsions. "If marriage had not taken place at that time, it would have been indefinitely delayed."[26]

Shah Abdur Rahim had died when Shah Wali Allah was only seventeen However he had been trained properly to take charge of the school which was attracting students from far and near. He had also received sufficient coaching from his father in theoretical and practical mysticism. Shah Wali Allah worked guided by his father's pupils at the school for nearly twelve years (1131 1143 A.H.) and lectured on theology and sciences ('ulumi-dunia wa din). During this time he had the opportunity to "explore the depths of the ocean of knowledge." He often sat in meditation at the grave of his father and received spiritual guidance from him. He found new vistas of Tauhid (Unity of God) opened up before him. He covered many stages of the suluk (mystic path) which widened the scope of his religious or mystical experiences.[27]

Twelve years is a long period. A huge volume of water flowed down the river Jamna. Many horrible scenes were witnessed by the capital (Delhi). The throne of the great mughal was desecrated and the king's person insulted. The royal prestige was reduced to the lowest point. The crown had virtually become a toy in the hands of powerful nobles. As a result of this, adminstrative machinery broke at various places and gave an opportunity to half hearted loyalty to change into an open revolt.

Shah Wali Allah was not merely a passive spectator of all this. He felt the pangs of it and thought about the possible means to lead the muslims out of the unhappy thing. He wished now to put off his garb of an ordinary school teacher and offer his inspired guidance to his co-religionists. But things were too bad to start with the reforms singlehanded. So, he felt an urge to visit the Hejaz to have a spiritual contact with the holy Prophet and receive his blessings for his work which he considered heavy yet very essential.

In the Hejaz at that time, a large number of great sufis and traditionists had taken up residence. Shah Wali Allah also had in mind to meet them, receive religious education from them

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26. Ibid.

27. Ibid. p. 204.

and thereby attain perfection in both theoretical and spiritual fields.

The story quoted by the author of Hayat-i-Wali (P. 231) that Shah Wali Allah was obliged by the bigoted mullas of Delhi who did not like the idea of free circulation of the Persian version of the holy Quran among the masses, to start on his pilgrimage, appears to be nothing but a fiction. Shah Wali Allah's translation was completed many years after his return from the Hejaz. Besides, his was not the first Persian translation. There existed already many others[28].

Shah Wali Allah in the Hejaz :

SHAH WALI ALLAH started for Surat on the 8th of Rabiul Thani 1143[29], along with his relative and friend Shaikh Muhammad 'Ashiq, the same who requested him to write his chief work, the Hujjat (Vide Introduction to the Hujjat). He returned to Delhi on the 14th of Rajab, 1145, having stayed over a year in the Hejaz and having performed twice the pilgrimage of the Ka'aba.[30] Shah Wali Allah remained all the time in the two sacred cities (Haramayn) in the company of great traditionists, sufis, and jurists whose biographies he has given in his Anfasul 'Aririn (Insanul 'Ayn). At Mecca Shah Wali Allah was for sometime with the eminent traditionist Shah Wafadullah. He read with him the

28. In his commentary *Bahri Muwwaj*, Shihabuddin Daulatabadi has given the translation of the whole book in Persian. Shihabuddin was born at Daulatabad in the second half of the 8th century of the Hijra. He received his education from Qadi 'Abdul Muqtadir of Delhi. At the time of Timur's invasion Shihabuddin left Delhi for Jaunpur where he died in 849/1445.

29. Vide Diwan of Shah Wali Allah : p: 146.
"Came out of Delhi for pilgrimage on the 8th morning of Rabiul Thani—In the Year 1143 that the wish was fulfilled."

30. Ibid.

"As (Shah) Wali (Allah) reached Delhi his journey ended and also his sufferings. It was on the 14th of Rajab of the year 1145" (1732). Shah Sahib stayed in both the sacred cities all the time and did not travel about the country.

Vide "Siyasi Maktubat" about the political state of India at that time.

Muwatta of Imam Malik with the recitation of Yahya b. Yahya[31]. Shah Wafadullah was a pupil of his father, the renowned Shaikh Muhammad b. Muhammad Sulaiman He granted Shah Wali Allah the sanad or permission for reciting, quoting, or teaching the ahadith of the Muwatta as he had received it from his father. Shah Wali Allah was also with Shaikh Tajuddin, another notable scholar of hadith, and read with him the Bukhari, the Muwatta of Imam Malik (kitabal Athar) and the Musnad ad-Darmi. Besides, he contacted other learned men of the town who had specialised themselves in various sciences.

At Madina tun-Nabi (Yathrab) Shah Wali Allah was fortunate enough to meet Shaikh Abu Tahir b. Ibrahim Kurdi who in course of time developed a great love for his new pupil. With this reputed mystic and traditionist Shah Wali Allah revised all the authoritative books of hadith and received the permission (Ijazah) from him. It is reported that Abu Tahir was very proud of being the teacher of such an intelligent student and often remarked : "Shah Wali Allah seeks philological explanations of the words from me while I seek his help in understanding the meanings thereof[32]."

Shaikh Abu Tahir b. Ibrahim Kurdi was a sufi of high spiritual order. He was the disciple of his father who in turn had received Khirqa (a mystic robe granted by the preceptor to his successful disciple, with the permission to be a preceptor himself to the novices of the path) from various sufis of different orders. The Shaikh passed it on to Shaikh Wali Allah. The fact is, Shah Wali Allah is indebted more to this sufi traditionist than to any other great scholar in the two sacred cities of the Hejaz. The reason is quite obvious. Shaikh Abu Tahir's religious views (and also his temperament) was quite identical with Shah Wali Allah's father ; for both of them traced their pupilship to the eminent logician and ethicist Jalaluddin Dawwani[33]. The mutual affection which

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31. 'Ulama'i Hadith Hind : p. 11.

32. Tadhkira Shah Wali Allah : 281.

33. Khirqa literally mean scloak with patches.

Jalaluddin (d 908/1502) was born in 830 A H. 1426 A.D. at Dawwan in the district of Shiraz where his father was a Qazi After his education, he worked as a lecturer in the Darul Ayatim at Shiraz. His book Akhlaq Jalali is a well known work on ethics.

sprang up between the teacher and the pupil was therefore quite natural Shaikh Abu Tahir like his father Ibrahim interpreted the Quran in the light of the philosophy of Shaikh-i-Kabir Muhayyuddin Ibnul Arabi[34] the great propagater of the doctrine of Unity of Being (وحدة الوجود) Shaikh Abdur Rahim too was a great master of Shaikh-i-Kabir's works, but was very cautious in regard to expression of it in the assemblies of common people, because he feared it might turn away the ignorant lot from the right path[35]. The Shaikh expressed deep emotion as Shah Wali Allah went to take leave of him before he left the Hijaz for home. With his eyes full of tears, Shah Wali Allah pacified the Shaikh by reciting this couplet :

I forgot all the paths I had known before
Except the path of thy love which I follow[36].

But of all these gifts which Shah Wali Allah collected during his sojourn in the Hejaz, the greatest was the spiritual perfection he attained at the tomb of the prophet. In his Fuyual Haramayn, a record of his religious experiences in the sacred cities (Haramayn), he writes about this gift in the following words : "The most important of all the experiences I have had in the Haramayn is an insight into the Invisible and meeting in a vision with the prophet". It was in Mecca, on the 10th of Safar, 1143 A H. that the first of the series of his visions took place. The vision had far-reaching effect on the future life of Shah Wali Allah and determined the future line of his actions. He relates that he saw in his dream that Imam Husain and Imam Hasan, the grandsons of the Prophet, had come to his house. Imam Hasan was holding a pen the point of which was broken.

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34. Ibnal Arabi, Muhayyuddin, commonly called Shaikh-i-Kabir was born at Seville which he made his home for 30 years In 598 A. H. 1201 A D. he set out for the East from where he never returned He visited several countries including the Hejaz (Arabia), and finally sttled down at Damascus where he died in 638 A H. 1240. He belonged to the Zahirite school and rejected Taqlid in doctrinal matters. He is said to be the author of as many as 400 books, of which Futuhat-i-Makkia and Fususul Hikam are most famous.

35. Anfas : p. 48.

36. Hay at-i-Wali P. 282.

The Imam stretched his hand to give the pen to Shah Wali Allah but held it back to have it first mended by Imam Husain. After mending it Imam Husain handed over the pen to Shah Wali Allah. Then a striped mantle was put over his head and he praised the Almighty for His mercy.[37] After this dream Shah Wali Allah felt himself transported to a different universe. He received due inspiration, enlighten. ment and power to write books on religion for the revival of it His brother Muhammad 'Ashiq who was with him at that time saw a great change in him and in his speeches.[38] The gift of the pen especially from the hand of Imam Husain was interpreted by him as some great difficulties were ahead of him and that for the fulfilment of his mission, he would need fortitude and patience of the martyr of Karbela. He feared he might fall far short of them.

In Madina too the visions continued and the revelations of the secrets of the Truth flowed on unchecked. He met the Prophet in his visions several times in the precincts of his tomb, who disclosed to him "the secrets of life and the very nature of his existence." In the course of a vision, Shah Wali Allah sought answers from the Prophet to the difficult problems which had ever troubled him before. The Prophet cleared his doubts concerning some important but irritating masa'il of the Shari'ah. For instance, the Propnet told him :

(1) All the schools of Jurists *viz* , Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi', and Hanbali, were equal in his eyes ; none of them stood superior to the others, for all of them were fundamentally the same.

(2) All the sufistic orders, Naqshbandi, Qadiri, Chishti, and others were acceptable to God provided they were follwed for His sake alone. The Prophet was not specially disposed towards any particular order.

(3) The disputes over the excellential and attributive greatness of 'Ali on the one hand and of the Shaikhain

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37. Fuyud : p. 99.
Vide Hujjat : Introduction.

38. Al-Furqan (Shah Wali Allah Number) p. 235.

(Abu Bakr & 'Umar) on the other, was absolutely unnecessary, and likely to cause disruption among the muslims. All of them were the companions of the Prophet and endowed with the qualities special to each of them.[39]

In the same vision the Prophet honoured Shah Wali Allah with the distinction of Ajmali Madad (Implicit Support) which means he was selected for the position of a Mujaddid (Reviver) of that century[40]. Once again in the precincts of the Prophet's tomb, Shah Wali Allah saw in a vision that he was surrounded by an aroma of sweet frangrance. Then it was revealed to him that God wanted through him to bring together all the disunited limbs of the nation, and that he would have to follow the path of the prophets, bear their burden of responsibilities, communicate truth to the people with kindness and compassion, pray for their well-being, demanding from God what is useful for them in their life and death.[41]

Again at Mecca, on the 21st of Zil Q'ad, 1144/1731, he saw the powers of faithlessness creating havoc in his father-land and the faithful being gradually eliminated from the scene of action. He was made conscious of his own duties under the circumstances : to bring about revolution and break down the system and to replace it by a new one adaptable to the time.[42]

To sum up what has been said before. Shah Wali Allah during his stay in the two sacred cities performed pilgrimage twice, read hadith with Shah Wafadullah, Shaikh Tajuddin and Shaikh Abu Tahir. From the last mentioned he received khirqa of almost all the orders of the sufis. He

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39. Fuyud : 113-24

40. Ibid. p. 127.

Mujaddid or renovator of the faith is an inspired person who appears in the beginning of every century and reintroduces the commands of the Shariah neglected by the people. The idea of Mujaddid has its origin in the following hadith reported by Abu Da'ud (Vide Hujjat V.I. p. 341) "God will, at the end of every century raise a person in this nation who would renew the religion." It is maintained that there have been many persons like 'Umar b. 'Abdul 'Aziz, Imam Shafi'i, Imam Ghazali, Shaikh Jalaluddin As-Suyuti, Shaikh Ahmad of Sarhand and others who were the Mujaddids of their time.

31. Ibid. p. 2 20.

42. Ibid. p. 297-98.

was inspired with the idea of revival of the Faith and had developed sufficient spiritual powers for it. He recorded his spiritual experiences in a book named Fuyudul Haramayn, collected material for the lives of his teachers in the Hejaz, and planned, at the instance of his 'brother' Muhammad 'Ashiq, Hujjatullahil Baligha, his chef d'oeuvre.

Shah Wali Allah Back in Delhi :

On his return to Delhi (14th Rajab, 1145, 1733), Shah Wali Allah rejoined his school duties, reorientated the previous arrangements of teaching of subjects, and passed his time busily there. He introduced hadith of the Prophet as the most important part of the curriculum. In teaching the Quran, he confined only to the simple recitation. He explained to his pupils the meanings and time and occasion for the revelation of the verses, and left the rest to them to think for themselves over other technicalities. He did not encourage the students to start with difficult commentaries of the Quran and indulge in unneccessary controversies raised by different commentators. He spent his spare hours in writing books for the benefit of his pupils and disciples and other learned men, and through them wished to carry out his mission of renovation. He never recorded anything but what he was actually inspired with in his meditations. (*Vide* Malfuzat-i-Azizia).

Condition of India on Shah Wali Allah's Return : After two years' absence from home, Shah Wali Allah could clearly notice the difference between the states of affairs in India and elsewhere. Decidedly it had gone from bad to worse Muhammad Shah's bacchanalian reveleries which won him the bad name of Rangila (Pleasure lover) had affected all classes of the people. The court was full of stinking intrigues, one noble set against the other in self-aggrandisement. Like any other decadent society, wine and women, rather than duty, swayed their minds.[43] The provinces were full of banditti and rapacious marauders. The whole empire was in a state of hopeless confusion which was an open invitation to the royal adventurers living beyond the frontiers of the sub-continent.

The new ruler of Persia, Nadir Shah, with his blood thirsty horsemen invaded the land, and marched straight upto the capital after meeting a nominal resistence by Muhammad Shah's

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43. The minister Qamaruddin is said to have a very populous harem.

forces at Karnal, (1150/1738). His stay in the capitals was marked with massacre and loot. After a halt of nearly two months, he left for home, taking away with him, the wealth of the empire, the peacock throne and the royal prestige. The loss of the last mentioned was really the greatest blow to the empire and it only hastened its end[44*].

The Persian king left an unfortunate precedent for other invaders to follow. A few years after, the incursions of Ahmad Shah Abdali started. Ahmad Shah, the new Afghan ruler and an ex-army officer of Nadir Shah, came to India as many as seven times in the life of Shah Wali Allah. In his letters to Shaikh Muhammad 'Ashiq, Shah Wali Allah has expressed his deep concern over these raids which were sapping the life-blood from the veins of the empire. (*Vide* Maktubat : pp. 68-78). Owing to the unrest stirred up by these raids the northern provinces were practically lost for the mughal King.

After the death of Muhammad Shah (A.D. 1748) the crown became a toy in the hands of the nobles who mostly drew their power from the Maratha, Jat or Rohila rebels. Due to their divided loyalty, the empire was breaking up into shreds and pieces. The King's authority was recognised only in Delhi and its suburbs. Even Delhi was not quite safe from the frequent raids of the rebels who due to their association with the discontent nobles could retire after loot with impunity.

In a letter to Shah Abdali, Shah Wali Allah, describing the general condition of the state writes : "There were nearly one lakh men in the service of the king which included cavalry, infantry, jagirdars, and reservists. Now owing to the negligence of the ruler things have come to such a pass that jagirdars cannot assert their authority in their jagirs. None cares about this maladministration. As the result of it there is no money left in the treasury and the pensions (or salaries) cannot be paid. At last all have dispersed and are now going abegging. The government is there but only in name. When the state of the officers is this, the condition of the townsmen (who depend on the state help), craftsmen and the traders can be easily imagined. Over and above this adversity, there came

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44. Shah Wali Allah in his letter to Abdali writes "Nadir Shah turned the muslims up side down and left the enemies of the empire such as Marhattas and Jats untouched. With this the enemies gained power and the muslims became scattered." Vide Maktubat : p. 52.

the blow of the loot of Surajmal Jat and his associate Safdar Jung[45]* which rendered numerous people homeless and indigent. Then the famine descended from heaven upon the unfortunate people to make the story of misfortune complete. In short, the condition of the muslims is pitiable." (*Vide* Maktubat: p. 51).

Shah Wali Allah witnessed many a *pogram* in the capital. In fact, such scenes forced upon his ears and eyes were very disquieting. Troubles had passed the people's endurance and "the knife", as he puts it, "had reached the bone itself. (کارد باستخوان رسید) Yet he did not lose hope of regaining the glory of the past and the peace of the old times. Physical helplessness provides one an opportunity to display one's mental worth. Shah Wali Allah studied minutely the causes of the ills, prepared a program for the removal of them and communicated to the men in position like Wazirul Mumalik Asaf Jah, Najibud Dawlah, Taj Muhammad Khan Balluch and others. As things became still worse, he even approached Ahmad Shah Abdali, inviting him to help. He believed if the remnant muslim forces joined hands with him, Ahmad Shah would be able to finish with the Jats and the Marathas.

Shah Wali Allah so eager to see peace restored in the land and the people resumed their normal vocations, assumed the position of a political advisor to the state. He sends instructions to Asaf Jah and Najibud Dawlah and others, as stated above, to start a war against the Jats and the Marathas straightaway "because there is no time to wait and think; but it is time to stir up the self confidence of the muslims and strike." He encourages them with the hopes of divine help and the enemy's weakness. He assures them that the power of the Marathas and the Jats was just like a false magic (tilism-i-batil) which will disappear by a little effort. He also supplied a *ta'vidh-i-silah* (تعویز سلاح) (amulets for

45. Vide Maktubat: p. 172. In another letter written to Hafiz Jarullah Punjabi in Mecca describing the helplessness of the state in protecting the life and property of its subjects says "The enemy looted Delhi from Rajab to Sha'ban (1151) and the state could not stop it." (p 89). It was on this occasion that the Muslims had decided in favour of *Juahar*. (suicide).

The king came to Shah Wali Allah along with the queen and had their lunch with him, their majesties sought spiritual help from him so that the rebel forces could be subdued.

victory of arms) for psychological reasons. His position as an advisor was virtually accepted by all. Najibud-Dawlah and others sought his advice at the time of difficulty Even the king paid him visit and discussed with him the state affairs (Maktubat : p. 67).

In fact, Shah Wali Allah urges in his letters addressed to all powerful nobles to rise up at once ; but at the same time he implored them in the name of God to avoid interference with the common people and desist from every kind of violence He appeals to them that if their forces pass through Delhi they should not loot the people "because they have seen much of it before." He wrote once to Asaf Jah to "stop banditti and assuage the condition of the famished people."

CAUSES OF THE ILLS.

A study of the Siyasi Maktubat and other works reveals that the observations of Shah Wali Allah about the ills of the state were remarkably correct. Although every class of the people contributed to the general chaos and downfall of the empire, yet he puts the greater part of the blame on the stupidity and carelessness of the ruler and the intrigues of the nobles. Owing to the weakness of the ruler, the provinces passed out of his hands one by one. The small territory of the Khalsa (territory under the direct supervision of the crown) did not yield sufficient revenue to meet the expenses of the standing army. The treasury was empty and heavy taxes were imposed on working classes. The unpaid soldiery lost morale and self confidence and they left the service.

"In this time", explains Shah Wali Allah "*two are the chief cause of the ruin of country* : (1) bankruptsy of the state treasury which is because a large number of people draw on it without giving any substantial return. They put their claim for state help on the plea that they are soldiers, learned men, or belong to the groups of sufis, ascetics, poets and other parasites. In fact they receive pensions without being useful to the state. These pensions would naturally unbalance the state budget, and the country as a whole will suffer for it.

"The second cause of the ruin of the country is the imposition of heavy taxes on its labouring classes such as cultivators, businessmen and craftsmen, and their oppressive realisation, especially from those who owing to lack of proper means are

not in a position to pay within the fixed time. Forcible exaction of taxes leads to far-reaching consequences which the state ordinarily cannot face. This compells the labourers to give up their profession and indulge in some anti-social activities. It often makes the discontented subjects desperate and disloyal. It should be borne in mind that the prosperity of the state lies in tolerable taxation, and in the appointment of limited number of administerators and in keeping the army what is essential for the defence and maintenanee of order. These are the secrets of the statesmanship which the persons in authority should carefully study."[46]

At another place he takes up the same topic and says: "When a nation marches steadily on the path of civilisation, its arts and crafts make equal and proportionate progress toward nicety and perfection. So far so good; but there comes a period when the ruling class gives itself up to comfort and ease and foppery, living only at the expense of the working classes.

"As a nation is brought (by force of circumstances) to such a state of economic inequality and injustice, it is not impossible that its poor people may become the beasts of burden (like oxen and asses) But such a state lasts but for a very short time. The divine *ital* comes to the rescue of the oppressed, and inspires them with the means of their deliverance; (*i.e.* the nature feels it necessary to provide them with sufficient spirit and stamina to cast off the burden which the interest of the few had put upon them). In order to prove the truth of our statement, the cases of the downfall of the Persian and the Roman empires can be very well presented here. The ruling classes of both the empires were so deeply lost in personal pleasures and comforts that the interests of the poor people who supplied them the means of pleasure were totally neglected. God inspired the people of Arabia with religious enthusiasm to march upon these territories and deliver the labourers there from the tyrannies of the fuedal lords. It is just for this reason that the death of a Pharoah or the ruin of a Kaisar or Kisra is included in the duties of a prophet.. And what we see in the case of the lords

46. Hujjat: 1, 79.

of this land, the stories of the extravagances of Kaisar and Kisra pale into insignificance."[47]

In his Tafhimat al-Ilahiya, a record of his investigations into spiritual as well as physical affairs, Shah Wali Allah gives his impression about the conduct of the kings, nobles, priests, and the common people. He warns them against the consequences of bad habits of each class of people, and makes each one conscious of their responsibilities at the moment.

Addressing the kings of Islam he says : "The divine *will be* that you should (give up pursuit of joie de vivre) and draw the swords and do not bring them back to the sheaths unless the distinction between the faith and the infidelity is made, the heathenic rebels are subdued, and no chance is left for them to raise their heads again.

"As such distinction is made you should settle down to the adminstration of the state. See that you appoint governors at all stratagic places, each place not more distant than three days' journey from the other.[48] The men selected for the job must be an embodiment of justice and fairplay, and be strong enough to enforce the law of God among the people. They must always remain alert to any revolt against the state or the faith. Every step should be taken to check major or minor crimes, and every one should be urged to do his duty conscientiously.

"Each governor should be allowed to keep an armed force sufficient only to maintain order in his territory. In no case it should have more than twelve thousand soldiers. He should not be allowed to muster strength so as to rise in revolt against the king."

"The Regents or the Viceroys of the provinces should be appointed *form amona* the nobles experienced in warfare. Each

48. Shah Wali Allah in his letter to the King (*vide Maktubat* : 41) mentions some points which if followed would help stabilise and perpetuate the empire. The important among them are : (1) to widen the territory of the Khalisa ; (2) to avoid small land assigments which involves administrative difficulties, *i.e.* Only big jagirs should be granted to suitable persons ; (3) to reorganise the army. The suprintendants must be of noble birth, brave and loyal ; the disloyal should be replaced by loyal ones ; their allowances must be regularly paid ; (4) the king and the nobles must not indulge in luxurious life. (5) the police and the judicial officers should be honest and free from the charges of bribery, apostasy etc.

regent should have an authority to conduct any war if necessary without reference to the crown.. After this, O' kings, God wants you to attend to the social welfare of the subjects, to solve their difficulties and settle their affairs in such a manner that there should not be anything contrary to the Shariah. It is with such arrangements only that the people can get real peace and prosperity."[49]

Addressing the nobles, Shah Wali Allah says : "Look, you are not afraid of God ! So engrossed in mortal pleasures you are that you have totally neglected the people put under your care. As a result of this, the big fish are swallowing down the small fish You drink in the open and are not ashamed of it ! Don't you see how lofty palaces have been built by some people, just for commission of sin, extraction of liquor and gambling ? And worst of all, you never interfere with their activities, as if you are a party to the vice.

"Your mental energies are directed towards procurement of sweet dishes, and enjoyment with soft and delicate women. You care little about anything except building magnificient palaces, wearing luxuriant dresses ! Have you ever bent your heads before your creator ? No, God's name is there for you to be mentioned in stories and fables. Or rather, I presume, by Allah you always mean viccitudes of time ; for you always say thus 'God can do this' ; that is, God is there only to change the time (in your favour)."[50]

Shah Wali Allah remembers the soldiers, the holy warriors, in similar words, for they owing to addiction to liquor and bad manners sufferred every possible degradation. They bred horses and collected arms only for loot and plunder, and neglected the real purpose of their existence.

The manners of the learned men and the sufis were also repugnant to him. The dishonesty and foul means of livelihood of the craftsmen and artisans and other lower classes were an open revolt against the Shariah of Islam. The learned men, ignoring the Quran and the hadith, studied the philosophy of the Greeks and the problems of Grammar, and regarded the study of them as the real pursuit of knowledge. Shah Wali

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49. Tadhkira Shah Wali Allah : P. 88. Vide also Al-Furqan Shah Wali Allah Number : P. 146.

50. Ibid.

Allah reminds them that the true knowledge lies in the Quran and the hadith ; "but the essential duties must not be mixed up with the optional ones."[51]

Among the learned men there was a class of pseudo-sufis who sat at the tombs of their great ancestors and sold their names for a few coins. Each of them was engaged in doing propaganda in favour of his own ancestor whom he proclaimed to be so dear to the Lord, and through him anything could be achieved. These unworthy sons of the saints were giving wrong lead to the people, turning them away from the right path of the Shariah "I cannot be a party to them" says Shah Wali Allah, "who take bay'at (make disciples) just to swindle money. What a shame that the divine science is being exploited in such a way ! But bear this in mind, this world too is only for those who follow the path of God".[52]

Shah Wali Allah ends his criticism by addressing all the classes together. "O sons of Adam" he continues "you are morally defunct, for you play into the hands of savage impulses and ignore the strict rules of society and its obligations Women are set against men and men are indifferent towards the rights of women. Vice is pleasant for you and virtue is just tasteless. I can assure you God has not put one into any difficulty which is not within one's power of endurance It was intended that you should satisfy your sex desire by marriages, even though you may have to keep three or four wives. But you have ignored this responsibility . Remember, one is not obliged to carry the burden of others ; so you should not be strict upon persons, for in that way you will not slip into the sea of sin. God wants that his creatures should take advantage of the concession made to them in the matters of worship and other duties. Satisfy your appetite by pure and simple diet, and earn as much as it is sufficient to meet your necessities Neither should you be a burden on your kinsmen for livelihood nor on the state or its officers If you will work, God will provide you with means too.

"O progeny of Adam, contentment is a prerequisite of prosperity. A person can lead a happy life if he has a comfortable corner to rest, sufficient water to quench his thirst, clothes to cover his body (and his family's) a noble wife to help

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid P. 100.

him in day-to-day life and to prevent him from doing sin......... There are customs among you which have made your life misserable. You are so extravagant in your celebrations of marriages, births, and deaths! You prevent widows from marrying for the second time, and do not allow women to take divorce..... You have given up payment of poor tax, though there is not a single person among you who has no poor neighbours or relations about him If they were helped, their lives would have become worth living.

"The soldiers amongst you go without observing the religious duties, thinking that the heavy work entitles them to be exempted from any religious obligations. But their plea is flimsy; they are a heavy burden on the state as they now remain idle all the time, although it is time for jihad against the marathas. If the king fails to pay their salaries any time, they plunder the poor subjects. Is it not a fact?"[53]

From the unusually long quotation concerning the observations of Shah Wali Allah of the customs and manners of the people, one thing is quite clear that he places negligence of religious observances at the root of all the ills. Ignorance of true Islamic tenets divided them into various sects and classes. So after his return from the Hejaz, Shah Wali Allah devoted himself heart and soul to present to the people the faith in all its branches *viz.*, tafsir. hadith, fiqh, mysticism in its original form, and made "*haqiqat (truth) visible to the naked eye*". But he laid special emphasis on the fact, which however cannot be traced in the writings of other great savants, that *men's obligations to society are as important for his spiritual perfection as his religious obligations.* It is not the will of God that men should quit the society and live in caves worshipping all the time there Such a custom will leave the world barren and the human race will be wiped out in due course. The fact is, he believes, that every act performed by man has its spiritual benefit.

Shah Wali Allah after his return from the pilgrimage, worked for nearly thirty years and wrote all kinds of books touching on all topics of religion. In his school he had trained several teachers, each of them expert in any particular branch, who went out into the country to propagate his views and ideas[54]

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53. *Ibid.* p. 105.

54. Tadhkira Shah Wali Allah : p. 300.

SHAH WALI ALLAH'S END

Since his return from the Hejaz, Shah Wali Allah remained in Delhi, teaching, reading, writing, or meditating. Though during the period he lived through, there was no security of life—it is probable he often faced danger of extinction—yet he preferred to stay in the thick of the battle and from there carry on his mission of reforms. Delhi still occupied the central position in the field of learning, and gravitated men of all trends and proclivities. So there, he thought, he could do a greater service to the cause of Islam than in another unimportant but quieter place.

However, his life has been uneventful throughout. The pain he received from the misbehaviour of his co-religionists was purely mental and not physical. The story that Shah Wali Allah was once mobbed by the miscreants in the Fatehpuri mosque on the instigation of the mullas who differed with him in religious views, is not based on an authentic report.[55] We cannot also vouch for the truth of the incident which took place at the instance of Najaf Khan, the Shia governor of Delhi who did not like Shah Wali Allah's plain speaking in regard to the Khulafa'i Rashidin (four caliphs of the prophet),[56] The opponents gave him trouble by open disapproval of things he preached. In fact, introduction of genuine hadiths which was so conscientiously done by Shah Wali Allah was a chanllenge to the faith of the superstitious, half-backed scholars. It could not be taken in by them so easily Shaikh Abdul Haque known as the Mohaddith of Delhi had made a cautious attempt in the tenth century to introduce hadith, but owing to lack of sufficient courage could not be so successful [57]

In spite of great opposition from different sections of his contemporaries, Shah Wali Allah's preachings worked their way into the hearts of the people, and a new class of puritans came into existence who called themselves *Wali ullahi*, and they named their order as *Wali Ullahiya*.[58] Their number was legion, and they belonged to all parts of the sub-continent.

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55. Hayat-I-Wali, p. 231.
56. Tadhkira : p. 279. It is related that Najaf Khan ordered Shah Sahib's wrists to be dislocated.
57. Ulama'i Hadith i-Hind : p. 31.

It would not be quite out of place to mention here that Shah Wali Allah did not receive any grant or pension from the king or any other authority At least we are not aware of any such grant. He managed himself for the expenditure of the school and his family. He was an expert physician and had some practice. Presumably this yielded income to meet the necessary expenses.

Shah Wali Allah died on the 29th of Muharrum, 1176 A.H. (1762) when he was sixty one years and three months old. *U bud imam i a'zam-i-din* was recorded as the chronogram.[60] The other chronogram quoted by Maulana Gilani from the Maktubat of Shah Abdul Aziz is :

ہائے دل روزگار ہرمت

بست نہم محرم وقت ظہر

He was buried in his family cemetry by the side of his father. This is actually the place where Shah Abdur Rahim opened his school and was at his death buried there. As the school was shifted to the new town of Shah Jahan Abad (Dehli), the old school became a regular grave yard for the family. The site can now be located outside the Turkman Gate, just behind the old jail. The site is also called Mahndyun because of its connection with henna plant.[62]

Shah Sahib, in fact, lived for others. Passed his time in the service of Islam, and died as a martyr to his mission he was inspired with The great scholars of his time and of the succeeding generations paid due tributes to his indomitable and indefatiguable spirit. Mirza Mazhar Jan Janan, acknowledging the debt of Shah Wali Allah writes :—"Hazrat Shah Wali Allah, mercy be on him, has given us a path to follow. He has discovered a method to fathom the depths of the secrets of divine knowledge. Besides being a scholar of several sciences, he was gifted with a clairvoyance. There have been very few

58. Ibid. p. 15.

59. Hayat-i-Wali : 269.

60. Tadhkira Gilani : 278. In Hada'iq-i-Hanafia (470) the chronogram is "Muqtada'l-Haqiqa Shanas".

61. Tadhkira : 278.

62. Darul Hukumat Delhi : II, 581.

such learned men in the past who possessed both intellectual and spiritual knowledge."[63] (Siyasi Tahrik p. 55).

The work which Shah Wali Allah completed in such a short time has ever since remained unequalled and unique. It has made the 'Ulamas of the later times to marvel over the volume and quality of it. A traditionist of Yaman whom Maulana Muhammad Qasim of Deoband (d. 1297/1879) met on his way to the Hejaz remarked, "Shah Wali Allah is a Tuba tree (which grows in Paradise and bears all kinds of fruits) whose branches are spreading out in all directions. His descendants are the branches of that tree and where-ever they are there lies paradise."[64] Maulana Fadl Haq Khairabadi having gone through a part of Shah Wali Allah's Izalatul Khifa (ازالة الخفا) said "The man who has written this book must have a profound knowledge of the Quran, hadith, and fiqh."

Nawab Muhammad Siddiq Hasan Khan[65], another great savant of the 13th century of Hijra and himself a prolific writer, admits the greatness of Knowbdge in every branch of religious sciences, and admires with equal seriousness and justice the services rendered by. Shah Wali Allah. He says: "Every member of Shah Wali Allah's family is like his eminent fore-fathers, unique among the learned and the sufis. "And why he should not be so? Besides the unequalled talents, he has Faruqi blood in his veins.

"But alas! the ravages of time have effaced the family from the earth even to the last vestiges. Inna lillah wa inna ilaihe rajeun (In fact, we are for God and we are bound to return to Him).

"All the members of this distinguished house have not only possessed mastery over esoteric and exoteric sciences but also

63. Mazhar Jan Janan, Shamsuddin Muhammad, was a mystic of the order of Imam Rabbani Sarhandi. His ancestors had ever been in the service of the Mughal rulers; but he cut off connections with them and devoted himself entirely to the attainment of spiritualism. On the 7th of Muharram, 1195/1780 he was killed by an assasin.

64. Tadhkira Shah Wali Allah: p. 302.

65. Nawwab Siddiq Hasan Khan was born at Qannauj, completed his education at Delhi with the reputed scholars and then settled down at Bhopal. Owing to his great learning he was taken as a Minister of the court by the Begum of Bhopal whom he married later on. He died in 1307/1881 in Bhopal and is buried there.

had the capacity to be the leaders of the age. There is not a single family in India which could stand as a match to that of the Shah. It is a different matter if any other family acquired so much worldly wisdom, and on account of that it commanded a great respect among the ignorant masses : yet the achievements of Shah Wali Allah and his descendants in the study and propagation of the hadith, tafsir, and fiqh and usul, cannot be denied by any one unless he is blind to these facts "[66]

At another place the venerated Nawwab says : "Indeed, if Shah Wali Allah had lived in the early days of Islam, he would have been counted as the imam of imams (leader of the leaders), and crown of the mujtahidin (investigators). The admiration and appreciation of his works by the contemporary 'Ulama is so sincere and voluminous that these few lines in this connection appear to be superfluous and unnecessary. The number of scholars who attained perfection in their physical and metaphysical knowledge ('ulum-i-zahir wa batin) and reached the pinnacles of spiritual greatness, by simple reading the marginal notes of his writings, is countless. His children too stand unique and unparallelled in their knowledge and practice, wisdom and understanding, oratory, eloquence, piety, honesty and faith. So are his grandsons. The whole house so to say, is a source of light, and this chain of genealogical table is nothing but of pure gold."[67]

Maulana Shibli, another prolific writer in Urdu and a great critic of our own time, pays his tribute to Shah Sahib in these words : "By the mental degradation (or perversity of learning) which started among the muslims after or rather in the time of Ibn-i-Rushed and Ibn-i-Taimiya[68], there was little hope left

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66. 'Ulama' I-Hadith Hind : 12—13
67. Ibid : p. 14.
68. Ibn Rushd, Abu Walid. Muhammad b Ahmad b. Rushd (d. 583, 1198 A.D) was born at Cordova. In 548 A.H Ibn Tufail appointed him the Judge of the town of Saville. He visited Morocco at the invitation of the ruler there ; but could not stay for long because of the intrigues of the courtiers. Ibn Rushd's philosophical views were not liked by the people of his town in Spain, so he had to leave the place again. He went back to Morocco and died there.
Ibn Taimiyya (661-728 A. H. 1261-1322) Taqiudcin Abul Abbas was born at Harran at the time of the Mongol Invasion. His father along with the family fled from there to Damascus where young Taqiuddin received education But due to his libre polemique a large number of people turned against him. He passed a major part of his life in various prions and died there. He is regarded as the mujaddid of the 8th century of the Hijra.

that any man with all the faculties of brain and heart intact, would take his birth again. But just mark the miracle of nature that at the time when Islam had reached the last stage of its decadence there appeared Shah Wali Allah who gave a new life to it, in a way that the deeds done by Ghazali, Razi, and Ibn Rushd paled into insignificance "[69]

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the renowned commentator of the Quran, recording the services rendered by various Ulama to Islam during the twelvth century writes : "Just see the progress of science and learning in the 12th century, the land was going to be barren (of course there were yet some patches of green and red left here and there). In India and in other lands too there were some prominent personalities like Shaikh Ibrahim Kurani, Muhammad b. Ahmad Safarini, Sayyid 'Abdul Qadir Kaukabani, Shaikh Umar Fani Taunsi, Shah Salim Pasri,

Amir Muhammad b. Isma'il Yamani, Shaikh 'Abdul Khaliq ...and a host of others who though followed their own respective paths, knew the secrets of the Truth. But it should be known that the position of a victor or king of the age was yet to be filled by the one named Shah Wali Allah, the Proof of Islam. Of course, other people did a lot of work for the faith, but that what was done by him could only be done by a person of his calibre.[70]

Shah Wali Allah's Legacy

At his death Shah Wali Allah was survived by his :

(1) four sons (and a daughter) and a large number of pupils whom he had trained to carry on his work of reforms after him ;

(2) madrasa or school for whose stability he spared no pains ;

(3) works, the treasure of information regarding physical and spiritual affairs.

Shah Wali Allah's Progeny : It is but extremely rare that the sons of great learned men are also great. In the old memoirs we find them mostly succeeded by their disciples rather than their sons. But in the case of Shah Wali Allah it is a wonderful exception. Shah Wali Allah's four sons, 'Abdul 'Aziz, Rafiuddin, 'Abdul Qadir and Abdul Ghani were equally dis-

69. 'Ilmul Kalam : p. 109 (V. I.)

70. Tadhkira Azad : p. 258.

tinguished scholars of religion, and quite proficient in his philosophy. Shah Abdul 'Aziz the eldest took charge of his school and proved equal to the task. He was assisted by his brothers and classmates and pupils in his work. In fact, it was a very fortunate group which meets but very seldom.

The school was attracting students from all parts of the world, and Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz commanded a great respect among the people of all the lands. Any fatwa or decree bearing his signature was looked upon as an inviolable law of the shariah. Mulla Rashidi Madani, in his letter to Shah Sahib which he wrote from Istanbul says : "Shah Sahib, your name is so widely known that if any fatwa is issued, the people look for your signatures on it. A fatwa which actually does not bear your witness or endorsement is regarded as a questionable authority. It will be a great honour if you favour us with a visit. The king of Turkey will be pleased to receive you in his audiance."[71]

Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz wrote several books on Tafsir and Hadith and other subjects and simplified further the philosophy of Shah Wali Allah. Shah 'Abdul Qadir and Shah Rafi'uddin translated the Quran into Urdu and thereby made it understandable to the masses. The fact is, as Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi puts it, Shah Wali Allah awakened the intellectuals only ; but Shah Abdul Aziz and his associates approached the middle class and through them the masses.

Now the times were changed and the situation had become desperate. The farangis (the English) known only a little to Shah Wali Allah,[73] taking advantage of the chaos, penetrated deep into the land and became the *de-facto* rulers of the mughal empire. The king was reduced to a titular position.

It was now thought fit by the followers of Shah Wali Allah to take some effective step to regain the lost territory.

Shah Abdul Aziz declared India as Darul Harb (enemy country) and he called every muslim to fight against the infidels

71. 'Ulama'i Hadith Hind : p. 53.

72. Shah Wali Allah aur unki Siyasi Tahrik : p. 72.

73. Shah Wali Allah in his letter to Ahmad Shah Abdali (Maktubat p. 47) refers to the farangis who rendered help to Nizamul Mulk in driving away the Marathas.

or leave the land. The movement was started to organise the masses under an efficient leadership so that the war could be declared against the new rulers. Among the leaders of the movement Shah Isma'il, son of Shah Abdul Ghani, was the most enthusiastic, and he wanted to start the war straightaway.

In the meantime Sayyid Ahmad, a pupil of Shah Abdul Qadir, returned from Tonk where he was a cavalier in the army of the Nawab, (it was in 1231/1816). On the merits of his military experience, he was selected as the leader of the mujahidin (holy warriors). The messengers were sent to all parts of the country to acquaint the people with the new dicisions taken in regard to jihad.

A few years later when the movement got sufficient momentum and the name of the leader was on the lips of every one, the Sayyid (Ahmad) and his associates in the holy war left for the Hejaz for more experience and blessings. After an extensive tour of Arabia (and having contact with other adjoining countries also) for two years, they returned to Delhi in 1239/1824. Now, Shah Abdul Aziz was dead and Shah Muhammad Ishaq had succeeded him as incharge of the Madrasa and organiser of the holy war. It was now decided to take up the field against the infidels. As it was not possible for the Indian Muslims to wage full scale war at the two fronts *i e.* against the Sikhs and the British Government in India, and to establish Jehad Head Quarters at Delhi, it was decided to shift the centre to the north western border (Qabaili Ilaqa). Besides, it was felt more urgent to deal with the Sikhs first who had made life for muslims quite miserable. The sikhs had established a new state in the Punjab in which the muslims were even denied the freedom of worship.

According to this decision Sayyid Ahmad and his associates Shah Ismail and Maulana Abdul Hayy and others, left Delhi for the tribal territory (1826) After halting a little at Khairpur (Sindh) for reinforcement from Delhi, they marched on and reached their destination sometime in January 1927. As already arranged with the people of that territory, jehad was immediatly started against the Sikhs. In several skirmishes with the enemy forces, the mujahids gained some ground. Peshawar too fell in their hands in May 1929 after many

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1. For details about this jehad see the works of Maulana Mihr published from Lahore. *e g.* (1) Sayyid Ahmad Shahid. (2) 1857.

successive efforts. Now the mujahids proclaimed Sayyid Ahmed as the Caliph and struck coins in his name Sayyid Ahmad and his orthodox associates wanted to enforce the Shariah of Islam in the terrotory re-taken by them This was really a tactical blunder. This should have been introduced with the consent of the Pathans of the trible area. Thus the force applied for the introduction of the shariah was resented by them. This really led to very unfortunate consequences the details of which can be studied in books of history. The Pathans fell prey to the intriques of the enemy and they killed all the officers of the civil administration appointed by the sayyid government in one night Thus the sayyid was forced to shift his head quarter to Kashmir. On their way the Sayyid and his forces were surprised by the Sikhs at Balakote where the sayyid, Shah Ismail and many other followers were killed. (May 1830). This was the end of the first phase of the jihad.

SHAH WALI ALLAH'S MADRASA :

The Madrasa of Shah Wali Allah was, as stated before, started by his father Shah Abdur Rahim after whom it was known Madrasa'i Rahimia. As Shah Wali Allah returned from the Hejaz it was shifted from its old site in Delhi to a building situated near the Jamia Masjid (Shah Jahan's Delhi). The building was donated by the emperor Muhammad Shah. A small mosque was also attached to it in which some sufis and learned men had taken up residence. Shah Wali Allah himself lived with his family in a part of this building.

As the graduates of the school went back to their homes they opened their own schools of the same pattern and for the same purpose. In this way a net-work of institutions was established throughout the sub-continent for the diffusion of the light lit up by Shah Sahib. The most important among these institutions were the Madrasa Nawab Najibud Dawlash (Shah Wali Allah Allah's favourite disciple) at Najibabad where all the students received stipends, the Da'ria of Shah Alimullah at Baraili and the Madrasa of Mulla Muhammod Amin at Thattha (Sindh).

The Madrasa'i Rahimia continued in its distinguished position long after Shah Wali Allah's death After him his sons took charge of it. The chief feature of it now was that Persian was replaced by Urdu as the medium. After the death of his four sons and migratian of his grandson, Mohammad Ishaq to Arbia, Mukhlisullah and Musa, two sons of Shah Rafi'uddin

supervised the teaching work. But the glory of the past had disappeared. As the sepoy Mutiny also known as war of independence came, the school closed down, "its building was sacked by the rioters and all the moveables were carried away. The site was auctioned and purchased by some Hindu businessman. The lane however is still known after the name of Shah Abdul Aziz [74]

Delhi was now no longer the centre of culture and education. The scholars dispersed and settled elsewhere. After some time Maulvi Muhammad Qasim,[75] a graduate of the Shah Wali Allah School, opened a new institution on the same model at Deoband, a township a few miles from Delhi, which is still a flourishing centre of Islamic learning. The graduates of this renowned madrasa are found in every part of the country. The educational institution at Aligarh run on modern lines too was founded by a pupil of Shah Muhammed Ishaq *i.e.*, Sayyid Ahmad Khan. This institution ultimately developed into a centre of a movement called after its name Aligarh movement and it resulted in the division of the sub-continent into two separate Muslim and Hindu States, named Pakisten and Bharat respectively.[75]

SHAH WALI ALLAH'S WORKS :

The value of a work can be judged not from its volume but from its quality and the effect it produces on the minds of the readers. Shah Wali Allah's works have always been a guide to the learned and a source of inspiration to the seekers after Truth. In fact, by his works, the prophesy of Shah Abdur Rahim that his order will last upto the Day of Judgement, has come true. The light kindled by him shall really survive all the storms of time and age.

Shah Wali Allah was a prolific writer. He wrote a large number of books of which nearly all the important are now available either in MSS. or in printed form. A number of his works were published at Delhi, Dhabil (Surat) and Lahore long ago.[76] Some of his important works like Hujjatullah, al-

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74. Darul Hakumat Delhi : II, 173-74.

75. M. Muhammad Qasim (d. 1297, 1879) opened his school in 1283, It has maintained its tradition up to this time.

76. Prof. Sarwar translated Al-Qaulul Jamil, Ham'at, Fuyudul Haramayn and published from the sinch sagar academy.

Musawwa were published from Egypt and Arabia and Iraq. Some time back a publishing society of Lahore named "The Sindh Sagar Academy" under the patronage of Maulana 'Ubaidullah Sindhi took up the task of bringing out critical editions of Shah Wali Allah's works, and some of them were actually published (in Urdu Translation) with illuminating introductions by Prof. Muhammad Sarwar. With the appearance of Pakistan on the Map of the world things have changed much in favour of publication of books on Islamic learnings. Shah Wali Allah's books have appeared in original and in translations at Lahore, Karachi and many other places. The ar-Rahim academy at Hyderabad (Sindh) is regularly publishing works of Shah Wali Allah and books concerning his life and message. The Quarterly ar-Rahim of the same academy publishes illuminating articles on various aspects of the teachings of Shah Sahib.

Shah Wali Allah's important works (known to us) are :–

TAFSIR (COMMENTARY) :

1. *Fathur Rahman.* It is a simple Persian translation of the Quran with occasional marginal notes. The notes have made it a regular tafsir useful for both a scholar and a lay man

In the introduction of Fathur Rahman Shah Wali Allah writes that only the exigency of the time and the environments prompted him to render the holy Quran into simple Persian without showing any pedantic erudition and dilating upon stories and parables as done by other scholars of the past.[75] It was started before Shah Wali Allah left for the Hejaz. On his return, for other engagements, he could not take it up soon and finish at a stretch. It was abandoned for some time, because the pupil who used to take it down as dictated by Shah Wali Allah, went away home Doing it by fits and starts, it was completed on the Idud ud Duha, 1150/1738 and was adjusted with the text in Ramdan, 1151. Then through the efforts of Khwaja Muhammad Amin, several copies of it were made available to the public (1156). The object of Shah Wali Allah was that by this simple translation the children of the labouring classes who were not able to acquire proficiency in Arabic would learn the meanings of the Quran quite easily.[78]

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77. Vide MS. 133 (A.S.B. Calcutta) fol. 1,2.
78. Ibid. fol. 3.

This translation is distinguished from other such works for following peculiarities : (i) it is a simple rendering of the verses, neither too literal nor merely sense-carrying. But a middle course has been adopted. (ii) Allusions are only briefly mentioned. (iii) Taujih (illustrations) is based on genuine Hadith or verdicts of the Faqihs (Jurists), (iv) Translation has been given in a way that even a man with a little knowledge of grammar can follow it.[79]

2 *Al-Fauzul Kabir* : It is a valuable book on the principles of Tafsir (exigesis) written especially for the the benefit of higher class students. Shah Wali Allah has laid down certain rules following which one can easily grasp the general sense of the Quran. According to him, the Quran is similar in many ways to the collection of farmans of a king which naturally will have no sequence in its context. The entire text can be divided into five main topics *viz* : (i) Al-Ahkam or the commands ; (ii) Mukhasima or contention with four classes of people ; polytheists, Jews, Christians, and hypocrites ; (iii) Tadhkir bi Ala'Allah or an account of the gifts of God ; (iv) Tadhkir bi Ayyam illah or references to the past history of mankind, rewards to the good and punishment of the evil ; (v) Tadhkir bil maut wa ba'dil maut or an account of death and the life after death, scrutiny of the deeds of men, Paradise and Hell etc.

Shah Wali Allah does not emphasise on the events which are often taken as the *causes* of revelation of the verses of the Quran. The verses would have been revealed, he believes, even though there had been no such events. Also he wants that the verses should always be taken in the general sense and not in the particular. That this verse was revealed for "X" and that for "Y" minimises the importance of the message of God.

Shah Wali Allah believes in the tansikh or abrogation of certain verses of the commands ; but their number is not large.[80] He proved by fact that the Quran is a linguistic miracle, and it is impossible to produce its like.

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79. Ibid.

80. Vid Shah Wali Allah aur unka Falsafa : p. 72 Some scholars think there is no tansikh or mansukh, while others believe there are as many as five hundred abrogated ahkam in the Quran But Shah Wali has explained that there are abrogated commands indeed, but their number is only five. Al-Fauzul Kabir was written after the tafsir Fathur Rahman.

(3) **Fathul Khabir :** It is a small treatise on tafsir written in Arabic. Shah Wali Allah has explained in it the difficult and archaic words and phrases in a very simple language. At places he has commented on the verses in the light of the hadith of the Prophet and authentic verdicts and opinions of the Ashab (companions). The book actually forms a supplement to the Fauzal Kabir and is essential for the study of tafsir and to know Shah Wali Allah's method of interpretation of verses.

Hadith or Tradition :

(4) **Al-Musaffa :** It is a Persian commentary of the Muwatta of Imam Malik, the founder of the Malikia School of Fiqh. Among the available collections of Hadith, Shah Wali Allah assigns Muwatta the first place on the merit of its authenticity. In this book Shah Wali Allah has explained the Hadiths by way of investigations (ijtihad) and has thus made the volume more useful for the jurists and the traditionists.

(5) **Al-Musawwa :** It is an Arabic commentary of the Muwatta of Imam Malik. In it he has given a learned criticism of each hadith dealing with different interepretation of different scholars. The ahadith have been arranged in a form convenient for reference. In each chapter, he has mentioned the views of both Hanafi and Shafi'i Schools[81] in regard to masa'il fiqh. The book has been published a number of times at Mecca and Karachi.

(6) **Sharh Trajim Abwab-il-Bukhari :** This small book contains illuminating annotations on the abwab or chapters in the collection of the ahadith made by Imam Bukhari. The material has been taken from various books of commentaries The author has also given some of the principles underlying the headings of the Bukhari. (*Vide* for details "Contribution of India to Arabic Literature : p. 38).

(7) **Musalsalat :** A small treatise on the authorities of the traditions of the Prophet.

(8) **Al-Intibah fi Asnad Hadith Rasulillah :** It is another Persian treatise (in two parts) on the authorities of the traditionists. Part one deals with the accounts of the orders of the mystics and part two with the authorities. Part two as far as I knew is not yet published.

81. Contributions of Arabic Literature : by Prof. Zulair Ahmad.

(9) **Al-Irshad ila Muhimmat il-Asnad :** This book is on the same subject as the Musalsalat. It is not yet published. Its manuscript is preserved in the Hamidia Libray, Bhopal.

(10) **Chihl Hadith :** It is a collection of Forty ahadith of the Prophet which form the very basis of the religion of Islam. It is a kind of selection made from the bigger collections of ahadith for the benefit of lay men. Quite a large number of scholars have made such selection of ahadith known as (اربعون) of which the (اربعین) of (امام اووی) is quite well-known (*vide* for details (مجلہ تحقیقات جامعۂ پنجاب اربعین 1967).

(11) **Hujjatullahil Balighah :** This master-piece of Shah Wali Allah is a work unique for its distinguished features. It is really a book of which the muslim scholarship in this sub-continent can justly be proud. In the opinion of some great learned men the Hujjat is an improvement on the Ihyaul 'Ulum of Ghazali. Shah Wali Allah discusses in it both scholasticism and the secrets of the science of hadith (which he regards as the most important of all other sciences).

The idea of writing such a work crossed his mind while he was in Arabia. But due to lack of authentic reference books and personal scientific attainments he had to put off the plan until long after his return from the Hejaz. He started this work at the instance of his favourite pupil and relative Shaikh Muhammad 'Ashiq of Phalat,[82] Shah Wali Allah actually wanted to evade his request but had to accede to it when the latter reminded him of the fact that to refuse to answer the problems of shariah is to make oneself liable for the punishment of hell. (*vide* introduction to the Hujjat).

"Of all the branches of Islamic sciences" writes Shah Wali Allah, "the secret and philosophy of the commands of the shariah are the most important." Shah Wali Allah in this book

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82. Shaikh Muhammad 'Ashiq is to Shah Wali Allah what Hussamuddin was to Maulana Rumi. Shah Wali Allah remembers him in these words : ' He is an embodiment of my teachings and a treasure of my achievements. His engagments are to preserve my scientific acquisitions, and study my works. The fact is many of my works were inspired by him and it is he who prepared their manuscripts. I trust, he will immortalise them by preaching them to the people." (35 - مکتوبات)

has made an attempt to explain these secrets which in his opinion very few scholars had done before. In fact, such a work could be produced by one who possesses sufficient knowledge of every science and has full confidence in it. The book is divided into two main parts. The first part deals with dialectic problems (fi qawa'id kullia). In the second part he has explained the message of the Prophet handed down through his traditions.

The first part in fact consists of problems of special interest to the students of scholasticism, such as the creation of the universe, spheres of angels, similitude and perception, significance of responsibility and its natural outcome in the form of reward and punishment in this world and the next one, sociological problems, attainment of sa'adat (virtue) through various means, significance of tauhid (Unity of God), attributes of God etc., etc Therein he has proved by illustrations that the commands of the shariah are not given without any purpose ; but they have a definite benefit and have their bearing on the very nature of those intended to.

In the second part which is also divided into various sub-sections, Shah Wali Allah has discussed :

1. Faith with its five bases, ablution and prayer, pilgrimage, fasting, poor-tax, the Quran ;
2. Various stages on the path of spirituality ;
3. Means of earning livelihood and its other implications concerning society, cooperation in work, business etc.
4. Management of a family including marriage, mode of living, responsibility of a married life, divorce, education of children ;
5. Administration of a state, caliphate, justice, holy wars, protection of weak persons ;
6. Social etiquettes ;
7. Visions and dreams ;
8. Sketch of the life of the Prophet ;
9. Miracles ;
10. Al-fitn etc.

The book by itself is an authentic collection of the hadith of the Prophet arranged according to the topics. The language of the book is quite simple ; yet due to the difficult nature of the subject, one feels confused at places. Irregular arrangements of the topics suggest that Shah Wali Allah has not followed any particular system in his exposition. The second part at several places refers to some topics discussed in the first part providing thereby a better study of the same. The book in fact is a master-piece of no small importance. It may well be regarded as an encyclopedia of Islamic theology.

FIQH OR ISLAMIC LAW:

(12) *Al-Insaf*: Shah Wali Allah in this book has elaborately dealt with the causes of differences among the Ashab over various problems of the Muslim Law which gradually led to the establishment of four schools of fiqh. Differences, he says, occurred due to interpretation of certain acts of the prophet, or due to forgetfulness on the part of the reporters (who confused one thing with the other), or change that took place in the report in the course of transmission.

The founders of the schools differed only in minor points, fundamentally they followed the same course. It is wrong to believe that these schools are final and that no improvement could be made on them. The fact is that scholars who possess sufficient knowledge of the Quran and the hadith, can accept any verdicts of the imams of the schools and reject them if they contradict an authentic hadith. That is what the imams themselves indicated in their books. Also a scholar can reject the ra'i of an imam if he can produce a better one.

The emphasis laid by several jurists on following one of these schools is merely an expedient measure for the sake of uniformity. In this age, besides, there is hardly any scholar of hadith and fiqh who can successfully take correct inferences. Also if all the people begin to take inferences there will be a lot of confusion. However, it is not necessary one should follow only this or that particular school, say Hanafi, or Shafi'i. Nay, all the schools are equally acceptable to God. It is better to follow only that one which is followed by majority of the people of the country. For instance, in this sub-continent it is essential one should follow Hanafi school because majority of the people here are Hanafis.

(13) *Iqdul Jid* : In this book Shah Wali Allah explains the difficult-naure of the masa'il of ijtihad (investigation) and *taqlid* (blind—following) Ijtihad means investigation in the minor commands (ahkam-i-furu'i) of the shariah with the help of the Quran, hadith, consesus of opinion of other great jurists, and personal opinions on scholars. It is wrong to believe that there cannot be any mujtahid after the great imams or the founders of the schools. Any one who thoroughly masters the Quran, hadith, the opinions of the ancient jurists, Arabic language, and possesses capacity to take inferences, can be a Mujtahid (مجتہد)

Mujtahids are of various categories. Mujtahid Mutlaq is one who on the merit of his great knowledge of the scriptures etc., and special inspirations, follows his own course as did the people of the first two centuries. Accorting to Shah Wali Allah there have been no mujtahid mutlaqs after the fourth century of the hijra.

Next to Mujtahid Mutlaq in rank is the Mujtahid Muntasib which is of two categories. Mujtahid bil Madhhab and Mujtahid bil Fatwa. The former uses his own intellect within a particular school determining the furu'at only. He follows only the broad principles (usul) of fiqh and fundamental texts of the founder imam. The latter is an inferior type of mujtabid who has no right to interfere with the previous decisions of the jurists. He simply gives his verdicts according to them. Imam ibn Taimiya and Jalaluddin Suyuti are the types of Mujtahid bil Madhhab.

Taqlid is to follow the schools of fiqh without questioning the authority of any of its verdicts. Ibn Hazm and some other scholars believe that taqlid is not permitted in Islam. If it were so, the companions of the Prophet were the most suitable persons to start with it. But we know they followed their own individual courses.

Ibn Hazm is right indeed ; but his verdict is not tenable in the case of the people of the later generations. The selfish motives of the qadis (judges) of the present age stand in the way of dispensation of justice. While swayed by personal interests one cannot take correct inferences. It is therefore necessary to depend for the knowledge of the shariah on the investigations of the specialists of this science.

SCHOLASTICISM :

(x) *Hujjatullahil Balighah* : Part one of the book contains scholastic discussion. Shah Wali Allah has tried in it to rationalise the dogmas of Islam. A summary of this has been given at the end of this book.

MYSTICISM :

Shah Wali Allah's contribution to this subject is fairly large which bears testimony to his great interest in it, and his access to the sphere of *the Unkown.*

(14) *Sat'at* : It is a small treatise in Persian in which Shah Wali Allah has discussed the relation between Pure Unity (Dhat-i-Baht) and the manifest world ('Alam-i-Shahadat).

(15) *Fuyudul Haramayn ;* This is a record of Shah Wali Allah's religious experiences he had in premesis of the Ka'aba and the tomb of the Prophet. The book is extremely valuable to a student of mysticism for information regarding an approach to the Absolute Reality here are forty seven visions (Mushahidat) in the book which deal with different aspects of practical and theoretical mysticism. He has described the way unity exists in diverse forms of the universe, and the capacity of man to know that unity.

(16) *Ham'at* : It is a book on historical development of Islamic mysticism In it Shah Wali Allah gives the definition of the path leading to the Absolute Reality, and illustrates the difficulties of it by his personal experiences. The path begins with the obedience of the laws of Shariah and gradually drifts away from it as one advances on it There comes a stage when one can be exempted from religious observances. But this stage is reached by only a few persons who lose completely the sense of the world but who (for the sake of men of the world) prefer to stick to the shariah. For instance, Shah Abdur Rahim was allowed to go without religious observances, but he chose as not to abandon it.

The differences in the experiences of the sufis exist because of the differences in the stages they reached. But all the sufis are to be respected by the people because they are the persons who devoted their lives to the search of the Truth.

(17) *At-Tafhimatul Ilayia* : (التفہیمات الالٰہیہ) It is another record of Shah Sahib's mystic experiences written both in Persian and Arabic. He explains in a peculiar way theoretical and practical knowledge of the sphere of the unknown. Some of his expressions are unintelligible to the persons not familiar with the religious experiences. At the end of the first volume he has given a copy of the letter to Afandi Isma'il wherein he has explained the doctrines of Wahdatul Wujud and Wahdatush Shuhud (Pantheism and Apparentism) and has tried to reconcile the two. In this book he has also addressed to various sections of the society reminding each section its responsibility to the lord and the people.

(18) *Al-Budurul Bazigha :* The book in a way is a supplement to the Hujjat and deals with both mystic and sociological developments. It is divided into three sections (Maqalat), each section having various parts (fusul). In the first section Shah Wali Allah discusses the innate human qualities which determine one's ethical and social achievements. He proves by illustrations the superiority of human nature over other species of animals. Unlike beasts who act under instinctive urges and never change their modes, human beings have the capacity to control their instincts and modify their behaviour. He discusses alsothe sociologycal progress of humanity ranging between a barbarous condition of the forest dwellers and the highest form of culture and civilisation.

The second section deals with the natural capacities of human beings by which they seek knowledge, practical as well as theoretical, about God. The life after death, the suffering in the grave and hell, are also discussed in it.

In the third section, different faiths and their codes of laws (shara'i) are mentioned.

(19) *Al-Qaulul Jamil fi Sawa'is Sabil :* In this book Shah Wali Allah has discussed various orders of the sufis, like Cadiria, Chithtia, Naqshbandia, and Suhrawardia and others. He has explained the significance of ba'yat, the qualifications of a preceptor and the training of a novice. He has also given necessary aurad and waza'if (extra-ordinary recitations ect.) of each order and their individual physical and spiritual benefit.

(20) *Anfasul 'Arifin :* This volume contains the life account of Shah Abdur Rahim, notes on his teachers, his table-talks and

his mystic practices ; Ma'athtrul Ajdad (the account of Shah Wali Allah's ancestors) ; Insanul 'Ayn (accounts of the lives of Shah Wali Allah's teachers in the Hejaz) : Juz'i latif, autobiographical notes.

The book is extremely valuable for the biographers and students of mysticism. It has references to various great sufis and their mystic beliefs.

Other small treatises on this subject written by Shah Sahib as mentioned in biographical works are : Al-'Atiyyatus Samadia, Sharh Rubayatain (commentary on the two rubais of Khwaja Baqi Billah), Anfasu Muhammdia, Lam'at, Al-Kharul Kathir, Shifaul Qulub, 'Awarif, Altaful Qudus, Tawilul Ahadith, Faid-i-'Am, Sururul Mahzum, Maktubul Ma'arif and others. Some of these books such a, (الطاف قدس) and (الخير الكثير) have been published and are very popular among the scholars.

MUNAZARA OR VERBAL CONTEST :

(21) *Izalatul Khifa* : The main theme of the book is the justification by arguments the succession of the four caliphs of the Prophet. In the course of the discussion, the principles of sociology have also been dealt with. In the opinion of Abdul Hayi of Farangi Mahal (Lucknow) there is no similar work to be found in the whole of Islamic literature. The original book is in Persian. It's Urdu translation is also available.

(22) *Quratul Aynain* : Shah Wali Allah wrote this book on the request of Khwaja Muhammd Amin to answer the charges of the Shias and to remove the doubts of the people. He has proved by historical evidences that the two early caliphs (Abu Bakr Siddiq and Umer Faruq) deserved par excellence the position which they happened to occupy.

The book is divided into three masalik (chapters) dealing with the qualities of Abu Bakr and Umer, and the opinions of the companions of the Prophet about both of them. At the end Shah Wali Allah gives his own conclusions about them. For instance, he contacted the souls of the two caliphs in the Haziratul Qudus (the place where the souls of the most excellent men meet the Great Soul) and found their light intermingled with the light coming out of the soul of the Prophet. He explains it further in this way, that the nisbat (a peculiar

spiritual state) prevailing in the time of the Prophet which is a manifestation out of the manifestations of the divine light, ended with the death of the two caliphs. Then the other manifestation which is like the world of similitude came into being. The first was the path of Nabuwwat (prophethood) and the second one of Walayat (Sainthood). That is the other two caliphs 'Uthman and Ali belong to the cadre of saints. Hence their succession came later.

'AQA'ID :

(23) *Al-Aqidatul Hasanah :* It is a small treatise covering a few pages in which Shah Wali Allah has given the formulae of the sunnite creed. The book begins with the words : I shall call upon God and those who are present from amongst angels, genii, and men, to bear witness that I believe from the core of my heart that for the world there is a Creater eternal and self-existent He has created the world from mere nothing. He says 'be' and the thing intended comes into existence. "Shah Wali Allah explains that God is the ultimate cause of every thing. He is in reality the curer of all the ills, a physician is just a medium.

In regard to the succession of the caliphs, Shah Wali Allah says in clear-cut terms, that they succeeded in right order. There was no other alternative. Abu Bakr is decidedly better amongst the Prophet's followers because of his greater services to Islam. Next to him in position is Umar. He does not say anything about Uthman and Ali in this book.

The book is in simple Arabic and is published with Urdu translation.

Besides this, there are other books on the same subject such as Al-Muqaddimatun Saniyya, Fatual Wudud, (in Arabic) and Al-Maqalatul Waddia fil wassiya (in Persian).

MAKTUBAT :

(24) *Shah Wali Allah Ke Siyasi Maktubat :* It is a collection of Shah Wali Allah's political letters written to different persons of authortay of his time. The letters were actually collected by Shaikh Muhammad Ashiq and his son Shaikh Abdur Rahman in two volumes. The first volume contains 281 and the second only 77 letters. Siyasi Muktubat

is a selection of letters of political nature, as the name suggests, from the above mentioned two volumes.

In these letters, Shah Wali Allah has made an appeal to the king and the nobles to set things aright which were bad and were likely to be worse. If no quick steps are taken to suppress the revolts of the Sikhs, Marathas and the Jats, the poor people will be crushed under the heels of them". Shah Sahib seems to have a soft corner in his heart for the Rohillas. Otherwise they were no less revolting aginst the authority of the king. Ghulam Qadir Rohilla, sometime after Shah Sahib's death, went as far as blinding the emperor.

These letters are an authentic sourse for contemporary events, a fine piece of literature and show well the great command of the writer over persian.

POETRY :

(25) *Diwan of Shah Wali Allah :* Shah Wali Allah had a great command over the languages of Arabic and Persian and could compose verses without any difficulty. Although he is not a professional poet, yet his poems portray masterly touches of the professionals. His poem (Na'at) which begins with this line, is very beautiful :

> "The stars which shine (in the sky) in the dark
> Are either the eyes of dragons or the heads of scorpions."

This poem can really win him a place among the high class poets. His son Shah Abdul Aziz wrote a takhmis on this poem.

The diwan of Shah Wali Allah which contains both Persian Qitas etc., and Arabic poems compiled by Ishaq b. Muhammad Irfan of Barailli (d. 1234 A.H. 1818) who was a pupil of Shah Abdul Qadir is preserved in the library of Nadwa-tul-Ulama, Lucknow.

(26) *Persian Poems Given in Hayat-i-Wali :* We do not possess any separate volume of Shah Wali Allah's Persian poems. The only available source of our information regarding his Persian verse is the Hayat-i-Wali where a number of poems and stray verses have been ascribed to him. The author of the book, Shaikh Rahim Bukhsh, has selected these poems from some other work or works the name of which he has not disclosed.

It is true Shah Sahib had a command over Arabic and Persian and could write verses, but as stated above he did not compile any diwan like other poets. The gazals given by Shaikh Rahim Bakhsh in his (حیات ولی) are really of very high standard.

SHAH WALI ALLAH'S DISCIPLES AND POLITICAL REVOLUTION

First Campaign :

Of the graduates of the Madrasa'i Shah Wali Allah and their pupils in other off-shoot institutions of which the Madrasa'i Najibullah Khan and Daira'i Shah Alimullah and Dara'i Shah Ni'matullah دائرہ شاہ نعمت اللہ were the main, there was formed a class of people who, owing to their puritanic views, were dubbed as Wahhabis of India [1] The new group which was gradually widening its circle of influence prepared the masses for a political revolution. Their main object was to break down the old system of government and establish a new one wherein there could be no feudal lords of the type of Rome and Persia to exploit the common people for their selfish ends. Shah Wali Allah himself had laid down the fundamental principles in his works for the new order The followers of Shah Wali Allah were now mustering strength and looking forward to the time when they would start campaign and see things done as desired by their great preceptor.

In India the Power of the muslim king had waned to an insignificant limit. He was virtually a titular figure The British had come right up to the capital (Delhi) and taken control of the administration. The Islamic laws were gradually replaced by other unislamic ones. In the north the Sikhs carved out

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1. Wahhabis were the followers of Shaikh Muhammad son of 'Abdul Wahhab of Najd (1115-1206 A. H) The Shaikh was a learned man endowed with the parts of religious leadership. He started a movement for purging Islam of all innovations. He declared all others who differed with him in religious views as kafirs, so shedding of their blood by his followers was lawful. Their attack on the Ka'aba infuriated the entire Muslim world. The power of the Wahhabis was broken by the Turkish army in 1233 1817.

   The movement of Shah Wali Allah had no relation with the Wahhabis, for their views were different from the latter. (Vide Siyasi Tahrik : Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi p. 229) The British Government in India taking advantage of this hatred against the Wahhabis dubbed every revolutionary a Wahhabi.

their own kingdom and treated the muslims pretty badly[2] The new organisation of mujahids could not allow the forces of evil to destroy muslims unchecked They felt it necessary to be up and doing. Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, the eldest son of Shah Wali Allah, declared India 'an enemy land' (Darul Harab[3]) and in his sermons, daily and weekly, urged the muslims to take the field against the new rulers. Shah Isma'il, son of Shah Abdul 'Ghani, who was of more bellicose spirit wanted to rise up straightaway. But Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz advised him to wait for the opportune moment until some one was found to be the leader of the campaign. Besides, he knew that the muslims living in the plains could not defeat the enemy single-handed. it was necessary, therefore, to enlist the support of the Afghans living at the north-west frontier.

The masses gradually became inspired with the idea of a holy war and martyrdom, and talked about it under the very nose of the British Regent and his henchmen in Delhi. The sermons of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz put a new life into the dead body of the community; its sluggishness changed into an admirable activity "It was a victory for Shah Wali Allah himself who had started the work; but though it was confined in his life to the learned circle only, it bore fruit through the efforts of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz and his pupil and nephew Shah Isma'il In fact, the credit would go to Shah Isma'il for bringing about a total change in the hearts of the lethargic and indifferent masses:

He wished to create a stir in the garden; so,

He set this plant in it and brought it up

If Shah Wali Allah were alive at that time he would have acknowledged Shah Isma'il's leadership on the field of battle. Hazrat Pir Ansari says: 'I am Khurqani's disciple; but were he alive today, notwithstanding our present relations, I would have made him my disciple'. The voice of Shah Wali Allah which was ineffectively heard once by the ruins of Old Delhi and the Kotla, re-echoed in the streets of Shah-jahanabad and on the steps of Jami' Masjid. The dead spirits were once again stirred up to life, and the words which could not be uttered be-

2. Vide Tadhkira Shah Wali Allah: p. 32. Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz in a poem refers to the atrocities of the Sikhs and Marathas in the most pathetic terms

3. Vide Fatawa'i 'Azizia: Vol. I, 17.

hind closed doors, were now openly discussed and in the broad day light[4].

In the meantime, Sayyid Ahmad, a pubil of Shah Abdul Qadir and erstwhile cavalier in the army of the Nawab of Tonk, returned to Delhi in 1235/1819, and put up in the Akbarabadi mosque. His advanced states in mysticism and military experience attracted the attention of Shah Isma'il and others. Being impressed by his personality they agreed on this point that Sayyid Ahmad was the fitiest person to be the operational commander for the Jehad against infidels. The Syavid however did not think that the time was ripe yet to start the holy war He therefore left for the Hejaz along with Shah Isma'il and other leaders of the Jihad Movement Their object was to seek blessing of the prophet and study political conditions there in Arabia and other countries They also wished to contact the Turkish Khalifa if he could render any help to them.

After a year of extensive tour in the Yemen and Hejaz the pilgrims returned in 1239/1826 to Delhi. The difference they found between the state of the Muslims in India and their condition elsewhere excited the zeal of the pilgrims to the highest pitch for the achievement of their object Emissaries were sent to the farthest corners of the land inviting the muslims to join the ranks of the new army of mujahid [5]

After the death of Shah Abdul Aziz in 1824 A C. Shah Muhammad Ishaq took charge of the Madrasa and became the chief of the Jihad Movement.[6] He wanted now to make a move and strike. Since it was not possible to wage war at two fronts; i e simultandeously against the English and the Sikhs, it was thought proper to move to the frontier and deal with the Sikhs first. It was also decided that Shah Muhammad Ishaq would

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4. Tadhkira Abul Kalam Azad ; p. 260

5. Syyid Ahmad Shahid was born in 1201/1787 at Bareilli in the Daira 'Alimullah. After studying for some time at Delhi with Shah Abdul Qadir, Syyid Ahmad joined the cavalay of the Nawab of Tonk But as the Nawab made a treaty with the enemy the Sayyid left his service and returned to Delhi and became a leader of the Jihad Movement. He was Killed in 1831 at Balakot.

6. Vide for the Jihad Movement J.A,S,B. (1831). The Jihad began on 20th Jamadiul Ula, 1242/21st December, 1826. The Risala Targhib-i-Jihad gives the details of the causes which led to this action. Vide official proceeding of the courts (1865).

remain at Delhi and supply reinforcement and funds to the holy warriors

According to plan, in the closing months of the year 1241/1826 the Sayyid and his two advisors, Shah Ismail and Maulana Abdul Hayi, and a company of mujahids left for the frontier They waited on the way at Khairpur for sometime till the arrival of reinforcement from Delhi.

The mujahids arrived at the tribal territory sometime in January, 1827 and camped in the yusafzai'i hills situated between Peshawar and the Indus. They were hailed by the Punjter family (which was of some consequence among the war-like Usafzai'is) because they were apprehensive of the Sikh vassal Yar Muhammad Khan of Peshawar. The family agreed to cooperate with the Sayyid in his holy war against the infidels. A provisional government was formed and the war started.[8] The sikh ruler at once strengthened his frontiers by the reinforcement of the garrisons under the command of the most skilful general "whom the breaking up of the Napoleonic armies had cast loose upon the world". The name of this general, Ventura, is well known to all for his great passion for blood-shed. A war of varying successes continued. Yar Muhammad fearing defeat made a treaty with the mujahids and agreed to respect the torritory of the Yusafzai'is. But his base attempt to remove the Sayyid from the scene by poisoning him made the situation critical for him.[9]

In the year 1845/1230 Yar Muhammad was killed in a battle and Peshawar fell to the mujahids. This indeed was a great victory for the mujahids The Sayyid was proclaimed Amirul

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7. Cunningham, History of the Sikhs : P. 266. Also vide Ulama'i Hadith Hind : P. 88

8. It is usually believed by the followers of Sayyid Ahmad that the formation of the Provisional Government and successes on the field were due to the miraculous Powers of the Sayyid himself. "But that is not a fact", says M. 'Ubaidullah Sindhi. It was only the result of the preachings of Shah 'Aziz which had practically infused a new spirit into the dead bed, of the community In fact, Shah Abdul Aziz was the real hero of the movement. The Sayyid was just a soldier of his ranks. (Vide Siyasi Tahrik : p 20).

9. Cunningham : p. 269.

mouminin (the Caliph), and coin was struck in the name of "Ahmad the Just, the Defender of the Faith, the glitter of whose sword scatters destruction among the faithless". [10] He appointed his civil officers at various head quarters for the adminstration of the provinces The governorship of Peshawar, in spite of protests by the advisors and others, was granted to the deceased enemy's brother Sultan Muhammad Khan who penitant outwardly was the bitterest foe to them all. It was indeed a great tactical blunder which led to the most unfortunate consequences.

Sultan Muhammad coming into power thought of nothing but to find means to avenge the death of his brother Yar Muhammad. He sent his messengers secretly to all the villages inviting the people thereof to rise up against the officers of the Sayyid The Pathans were already annoyed with the mujahids for their strict measures in regard to the introduction of the shariat laws, forcible marriages with the pathan girls, and tolerance for the other schools of fiqh unknown to them. Consequently according to the instructions of Sultan Muhammad on the appointed day the Pathans killed almost all the civil officers. This was the great blow to the Sayyid government and it could not survive it.

A soldier does not always make a successful politician. For the adminstration of a state a cool minded judgement rather than soldiers' hasty decisions, is needed. Sayyed Ahmad was a great soldier but by no means an experienced politician. The need of the hour was to study the psychology of the masses. In fact it is not quite safe to touch the most sensitive chords right in the beginning of any reforms. The people whose reforms are intended and whose friendship at the time is most needed should be very carefully handled. Strict enforcement of the shariat laws at once rather than by gradual process among the war-like Pathans was a political blunder.

Now the Sayyid and his followers felt no longer safe there. They decided to shift the seat of the government to some other place in Kashmir. But unfortunately on their way at Balakot (District Hazara) on the river Kunhar they were surprised by the sikh forces Sayyid Ahmad and his lieutenent Shah Isma'il fell on the field and a large number of their soldiers were killed. This took place in May, 1831. With this untimely death of Sayyid Ahmad the first phase of the jihad came to an end

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10. Ibid, 12 Jamadi-ul-Akhir, 1242 A.H.

Second Phase of the Jihad Movement

The remnants of the mujahid force after the collapse of the caliphate in 1831 dispersed in disguise, for there was no one left to reorganise them and to lead them on the field. The family of the Sayyid returned to India and found an asylum with their friend, the Nawab of Tonk.

However, that was not the end of the Jihad Movement in India. It continued as usual even after the death of the field commander. The khulafa or emissaries carried on their work among the masses. But now due to some differences the organisation was split up into two groups with their head quarters at Delhi and Patna respectively. The group at Delhi wanted to purge the organisation of the individuals who were not trained in the philosophy of Shah Wali Allah, for they believed that for a united work and esprit de corps, common ideals for the entire party were necessary. They also wanted to align themselves with the Sultan of Turkey in lieu of establishing a new caliphate in India. As this alignment was possible only in the Hejaz, they also wanted to shift headquarter to Mecca. Shah Muhammad Ishaq actually left for the Hejaz and preached jihad among the muslim visitors from Indian sub continent. His efforts had had the desired effect and the Movement remained alive. He died there in 1262/1845.

The second group, commonlly known as Sadiqpur Party, believed that the Sayyid was yet alive as he had disappeared only onpurpose. So in their opinion alignment with any foreign power was not necessary. Maulvi Walyat Ali, one of the close associates of the Syyid, who had visited the frontier before the war as messenger to the Pathans, was the leader of this party. He commanded a great respect in Bihar and Bengal and his disciples therefore were quite successful in persuading the people to join the movement.

The declaration of Sayyid Ahmad as the Caliph had made the new rulers of India very nervous. They perceived that the danger would be great if they allowed the movement to go unchecked. They began to interfere with it through diplomatic tactics. Their first step was to create a cleavage between the masses and the leaders. So, through their agents in the com-

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11. Siyasi Tahrik : p. 128.

12. Vide The Indian Muslamans : p. 11).

munity the controversy whether India was **darul harab** (enemy land) or **darul Islam** was revived and fatwas were procured through some influence from the notable ulemas of the country and through British Foreign office from the Hejaz, that India was actually the country of Islam. For the muslims there were allowd to carry on their rites and customs freely

In the meantime a disciple of the Sayyid, named Nasir Ali alias Titu Mian started a campaign against the infidels in Bengal. He collected a force of his disciples around him and fell upon the villages lying northwest of Calcutta. He even defeated the Bengal Irregulars sent by the British authorities to punish him. Titu Mian established himself in a village and started a regular Jihad. By his brave exploits he had really become a great terror for the suburbs at Calcutta His main intention was to disrupt the civil administration and establish in its place the laws of Shariat. But his lack of military experience and much dependence on the miracles stood in the way of his success His bamboo fort which the people believed to be impregnable was soon stormed and liquidated by the English regiment (Oct. 1830). Titu Mian's defeat did not effect the movement in the north of the province [12] The mujahids regularly left for the north frontier to fight under the command of Maulvi Walayat Ali or his brother against the sikhs For many years the exodux of the mujahids continued ; but for certain reasons they could not gain any substantial success at the frontier.

After the annexation of the Punjab to the British territory (1849 A.C.) the war continued as usual with the successors of the sikhs. Now the British forces for the first time came in contact with the crusaders. But the British authorities in India did not like any kind of disturbances in the frontier when Russia was having a free hand in Turkistan. So, they wanted to crush the movement by hitting at the sources which supplied men and money Some leaders were tried in the courts and the punishments awarded to them were well advertised. This however did not produce desired effect. W W Hunter a British administrator admits in his book "The Indian Muslims" that the situation had become very critical and that "the cumulative papers now published – and the papers now drawn up and issued by the Muhammadens themselves—leave not a shadow of doubt as to danger through which the Indian Empire is passing."[13]

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13. Ibid. p. 30. At the early stage of the Jihad against the Sikhs, the British Government in India encouraged the mujahids to join the movement. The object was to weaken the sikh military power and to pave the way for their own conquest of the territory.

The mujahids trekked in disguise right up to the frontier to reinforce the army of Islam fighting under the chief of Sittana. It is interesting to point out here that most of them were the Bengalis, who believed that Sayyid Ahmad was alive and he would reappear some day.

When the sources could not be effectively dealt with, the British Commander-in-chief decided to attack the army of the mujahids and occupy their strongholds. So with a large force he marched into the tribal territory and the campaign of the Ambeyla Pass began. In the begining the British were very hard hit ; but their diplomatic tactics resulted in a split among the tribes at war with them. Thus they could get an easy victory over the mujahids from Bengal and punish them very severely.

This was the end of the second phase of the jihad movement. The state trials conducted in a dramatic manner at Ambala and Patna followed by severe punishments (including life imprisonments and executions) began to produce effect. Some classes of people in Bengal and Behar dissociated themselves from the movement as they knew about the impossiblity of the reappearance of Sayyid Ahmad. The rulers' propaganda that the mujahids were the Wahhabis, also went against the movement. The masses too fearing constant persecution settled down to their vocational life and gradually became indifferent to it.

Shah Muhammad Ishaq's khalifas had continued their work in Delhi until the war of independence also called the Sepoy Mutiny (1857). But a split occurred among them on some basic points. A group under the leadership of Sayyid Ahmad Khan decided to cooperate with the new rulers and to educate muslim community according to the new requirements. But the other group declared its neutrality, abandoning their open hositility towards the British, settled down to educational work on the old lines.

New institutions on the model of the madrasa of Shah Wali Allah were established and the learned class of the erstwhile mujahids settled there as teachers for education of younger geneoratin. One of these schools was opened at Deoband (1263 H.) by Maulana Muhammad Qasim (d. 1297/1879). This great institution which is still a flourishing centre of Islamic learnings particularly Tafsir, Headith and Fiqh, has ever attracted students from various countries. It has maintained with great zeal the tradition of its parent institution once presided over by SHAH WALI ALLAH Because of teachers' old attachment with the mujahids its graduates had ever been looked with suspicion by the out-going rulers of this land. We know it very well that the service of the graduates of this institution in ousting the foreign rulers are greater than any other agency or orgainisation of political nature. These learned mujahids paved the way for the division of the sub-continent and emergence of Pakistan—the largest Muslim state in the world.

Note : Vide Deoband and its scholars.

PHILOSOPHY OF SHAH WALI ALLAH

SHAH WALI ALLAH like his predecessor Imam Ghazali (d. 1111 A.C.) with whom he bears close resemblance for reason of all-round scholarship and profound knowlege of the religious science, was primarily a theologian, who had taken upon himself the task of bringing the religion back to its original position. In order to achieve his object of renovation or tajdid of Islam for which he claims to have received divine inspiration, because "time and environments needed it", he took help from all the means available to him. His philosophy which includes both hikmat-i-amali and hikmat-i-nazri (or practical and theoretical sciences, i.e. Ethics, Sociology, including politics, Scholasticism, Metaphysics, Mysticism etc., is not merely the philosophy of rationalists or the result of a free investigation of the nature by reason. It is the Philosophy of religion and his ideas and thoughts move within the pail of the shariat of Islam. It is by far an elucidation of his point of view in favour of the tenets of Islam often misunderstood by the people not well aquainted with the religion.

Shah Wali Allah lived at a time when chaos was the order of the day.[2] The social condition of the muslims in India was quite miserable. The evil forces were out to crush muslims and lower prestige of Islam. In his expression one can easily notice the effect of the contemporary events. It can be well noticed from the fact that he assigns the most important place in his works to the social philosophy. Or rather, in his opinion a sound social position is a prerequisite to the spiritual progress. Referring to the state of affairs in Persia and Rome in the time of the Prophet when the position of the common people was reduced to the beasts of burden he explains, that mission of the Prophet included removal of economic and social inequality from among them (vide حجۃاللہ البالغہ).

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1. Vide تفہیمات and فیوض الحرمین (مشاہدہ) also Hujjatullah Baligha I, 162.
2. The actual political situation in the country can be studied from his siyasi maktubat.

The religion introduced by the Prophet Muhammad (Peace be on him) which in its essence was the same as introduced by other Prophets who preceded him, comprised of three things.

1 'Aqa'id or Faith in God and His Prophet, books, angles etc.

2. 'Ilm or Knowledge. i.e. Information concerning the good and evil.

3. 'Amal or Practice according to the principles of good and evil.

The works of Shah Wali Allah deal with the three aspects of the message of the Prophet in an elaborate manner. The Faith (or عقائد) as we see contains belief in the known and the unknown. As for the known which the Prophet occasionally referred to while preaching Islam there was no difficulty in understanding it at his time. Even the unknown (God, paradise hell etc) was believed by the simple hearted Arabs without demur Of course, they put their entire faith in what he preached, for his personal character was enough to inspire confidence in his words.

As a matter of fact, the Prophet has not much explained the references in the Quran to the unknown sphere, because he feared it might create confusion in the minds of his followers. If he has explained at all anything anywhere it is just in connecion with some other masa'l (problems) concerning life-after-death etc [1]

As Islam spread among the more sophisticated peoples of Persia, and Syria, some of them felt sceptical over certain articles of faith especially those concerned with the sphere lying beyond this phere of matter. The matters were further aggravated by free circulation of the translation of the Greek works on philosophy and an open profession by some learned men of the ideas propounded in them This hellenistic storm of faithlessness, at the connivance of the muslim rulers, made the theologians of the time extremely nervous. They however put in their efforts to keep Islam free from the influence of the

1 Hujjat I.

infidels. This attempt of the puritans developed into a regular science of scholasticism (علم الكلام)[2].

Scholasticism, by the way, in reference to the muslim divines stands for rationalisation of the commands of the shari'at and elucidation of the metaphysical references in the scriptures. By this science, says Shah Wali Allah, the muslim scholars could refute the theories of the Greek Philosophy which ran counter to the shariat of Islam. Of course, they accepted such views which helped them to establish the truth of it. Among these scholars the names of Abu Muslim Ispahani, Ibn Hazm, Ghazali, Ibn Rushd, and Shah Wali Allah, stand out prominent on account of their great contributions towards it.

Shah Wali Allah in his attempt adopted an independent course and at places he has differed from the ancient scholars in the general outlook and presentation of his argument.

Definition of Faith and its Necessity :

To believe in God and in His prophet and regard the message revealed to him as real revelation from God, form the basis of the religion of Islam. That is, one should believe that God is *One* and a unique entity ; He is Creator and Sustainer of all, Master of everything and that no one else is associated with Him in creating, maintaining, destroying things of the universe. He is all in all. Important as it is, it is indeed difficult part of the message. Because it is there that the people have faltered. The reason is quite obvious. Unless one believes it without the force of logical arguments, it is difficult for an ordinary person to conceive a unique power controlling without any help an immeasurably vast universe. Hence human mind has been actively engaged in dividing the divinity into various symbolic forces of gods and goddesses.

Acording to Shah Wali Allah, religion is nothing but an expression of natural feelings and as such a belief in God is a specific necessity. It is an innate urge in and requirment of human beings as grass is to the sheep. The truth of any religion can be judged from the provision it makes for the fulfilment of this specific necessity. In fact, the fundamental principles of

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2. As the holy Quran or کلام الله was the main target of criticism by the opponents of Islam, the theologians reply to this criticism was called علم الكلام.

all true religions are the same (Hujjat : I, 44) ; they remain constant and suffer no change. It is only the shariat which is changed with the change of time and environments.

Thus every man is apt to believe in the Unity of God and acknowledge His supreme power ; but owing to his alignment with the affairs of the world the sense of divine cognition is obscured. In these circumstances, one gropes in the dark like a blind man conceiving things according to his own perceptive powers or capacities. It is due to his false conception that man fails to understand the reality of the universal nature as well as the reality of one's own self, and remains for that reason mostly imperfect. But it is the will of God that wants that men should realise Him, so in order to facilitate it. He sends His Guidance (Tadalli) in various forms befitting the time and the environments.

Belief in One God has its bearing on the social order. The progress of society is not possible without a belief in the supreme power who takes account of all the actions of men. Without this faith in the Unique Power there will be no fear of the consequences of actions, and there can hardly be cooperation in work or coordination in the activities of various sections of humanity.

GOD :

In the opinion of Shah Wali Allah it is impossible to describe God in adequate terms. Human mind or intellect fails to conceive of His actual nature, because He does not resemble anything (ليس كمثله شئى) within the range of its knowlege. In fact, a thing can be explained or made understood better by a comparison (الاشياء تعريف تبضادها).

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1. Tadalli literally means guidance, that is a thing or person who guides the human beings on the right path of spirtual perfection. It has many shapes : e.g. prophets, books, forms or places of worship.

Any attempt toward understanding God's entity or *Dhat* (ذات حق) would meet with no success. In fact such an attempt if ever made would lead to nothing but bewilderment and ultimate confusion and scepticism. It is just to warn his followers against such futile ventures that the Prophet has forbidden 'pondering over God's dhat'. His sifat or attributes being as eternal and uncreated as His dhat come within the purview of this command.

God's dhat and sifat are believed by some, as in the case of Mutazilites, as identical and not two separate entities, (Vide Shustari, v. I, 554). The Mutazilites believed that God's Dhat is virtually composed of His Attributes and neither of the two is separated from other by any way.

The verse كل يوم هو فى شان (He is in a different state everyday) was quoted by them as a proof of their belief or argument. According to Shah Wali Allah, Sifat or Attributes and Dhat are two separate entities, both eternal and uncreated. But the relation between the two is quite beyond the reach of human mind for it is quite different from the relation Jauhar (substance) and 'arad (accident) such as smell and the rose-petals which exist together (Vide Hujjat : I, 16) Such a division of Godhead does not however suggest His duality, because in any case His sifat are essential feature of His Pure Self (ذات بحت).

As it is difficult to imagine His Dhat, so it is impossible to see Him with our present sense of sight or perceive Him by any other sense (حواس خمسه). The prophets and saints do see Him in their dreams and vision. But that is nothing except the vision of His symbolised Attributes by their superior soul (Nafs-i-Natiqa). In the case of such visions the mental set up of the adept plays an important part. The man who understood God as an entity with power and dignity would see Him in a vision in the form of a king wearing a crown and seated on the throne. In reality this is the representation of his own mental image ('ulem-i-makhzuna' i ra ' i).[3]

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1. Ponder over this attributes (صفات) but do not ponder over His ذات person. Al Hadith.
2. (ذات بحت) is the pure self of Allah without this sifat or attributes

It is wrong to believe that attributes such as hearing, seeing, speech etc , cannot exist without ears, eyes mouth, etc The fact is that the attributes of God are not like human beings. In the case of God these Sifat (صفات) and asma (الاسماء) (attributes and names) are used just to make their nature understood. (In fact, the mission of the Prophet could not have been fulfilled if in order to explain the dhat and sifat of the almighty Allah (God) he had spoken in some superuatnral language). Thus in order to explain certiain attributes of God terms understandable to human mind would essentially be used. But these terms as they are used in the Quran signify only the end and of the means[4] For instance, Rahim (Merciful) does not signify that God has a heart which is moved to pity when solicited. It means only the bestowal of gifts or merciful treatment to the obedient people. The object of hearing is to grasp the sense of the words conveyed to one without the least regard for the means used. The attribute of hearing is ascribed to God also because He comes to know when we call Him. In the same way the nature of other attributes can be understood. In no case the terms applied to the *sifat* are to be taken literally.[5] We cannot also apply to God all the terms used for human qualities They are only to be used with restriction." For instance, we cannot call Him as "weeping" or "eating," or other such things which are purely human.

Process of Creation :

God is the primal cause or cause of all the causes of the universe. He has created and creates things the process of which continues for ever. But his method of creation is not that of an unmoved mover or an idle entity as described by Aristotle. [6] According to Aristotle God set things in motion once and now sits aloof while the universe moves on as set at the time of its creation.

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3. Sat'at : p. 20.

4. Hujjat : I, 117.

5. Vide also Shah Wali Allah's Frujad. In the Quran God is referred to as an entity living in space. It has been done so that the idea of anything living without space cannot be grasped by the common people The term is just used to make His existence intelligible it is reported that the Prophet once asked an old woman where God could be. She pointed out to the sky that He was there, The Prophet remarked that she was correct. That is, for herthat was enough.

6. Hujjat : I. 149.

In regard to creation of the universe, its maintenance and direction of its activity, four special attributes of God have been set to work and the universe moves on. The attributes as described by Shah Wali Allah are : **Ibda'** ابداع (creation of anything from nothings) : **Khalq** خلق (creation of thing from anything already created) : Taqdir (adjusting the created things in the order of the universe as it is in the will of God) ; and Tadalli (Divine Guidance meant for the perfection of the created things.[7]

The creation of the universe actually started from mere nothing According to the Hadith, there was nothing there except God before the universe was brought into existence. Shah Wali Allah explains the beginning of the creation in the following way: Wujud (Being) taken in the sense of existence and not Origin has three degrees viz , Dhat-i-Bhat (Pure Being). 'Aqi-i-Kul (Universl Intelligence), and Shakhsi-i-Akbar (Universal Body). At first the Universal Intelligence proceeded from the pure Being as light proceeds from the Sun. With this light pure Being became conscious of the Self. After that, in the same manner as before, Shakhsi Akbar or Universal Body proceeded from the Dhat-i-Bhat (Pure Being) and the foundation was laid for the present order of things.[8]

Now, Universal Body is composed of two things. Primal Matter and Universal Soul.[9] Or in other words it contained all the material for things-to-be, neither more nor less. From the Universal Body came out in descending order Heavens, Elements of which the Mawalid Thalatha or three Kingdoms of Nature were formed, genera, species and individuals. The process of descent is explained by Shah Wali Allah by the analogy of a seal on which the name Zayd (زيد) is inscribed. With this inscription on the seal, even before it is impressed on wax or clay, the outline of Zayd have come into existence. Now as the seal is impressed on wax or clay, new things come into being. At this time the universal nature of the seal and particular nature of the wax or clay becomes apparent. The combination

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7. Ibid : 19. Vide also At-Tafhimat : I, 29

8. Sat'at: p. I.

9. Sat'at : p. 3.

of both the facets (the one on the seal and the other on the clay or wax) can be taken as the Universal Body or Shakhsi Akbar.

Universal Body as stated above contained all the matter as well as the characteristics of the proposed creation. From it all those characteristics passed into the Heavens, whence in turn they came into the Elements. From the Elements came out the genera and the species carrying with them all the characteristics thereof In short, the Universal Body gradually differentiated into a vast universe as we find it now. Universal Body so to say, is the Collective Nature (Tabi'at-i-Kullia) and an individual thing a Particular Nature (Tabi'at-i-Juz'ia).

In this system of descent what is nearer to the Abstract (Tajarrad) is called the Sphere of Soul ('Alam-i-Arwah). But what is farthest from it is known as the Sphere of Perception ('Alam-i-Mahsusat). Besides these two spheres, there is another one which Shah Wali Allah claims to have discovered himself, lying just in between these two spheres. That is the Sphere of Similitude ('Alam-i-Mithal).

The first thing which the Universal Body did was the recognition of his Creator and expression of his humility before Him. As a result of this act, a cognitive form was impressed on the intelligence of it Now as Universal Body differentiated into various modes (genera and species and individuals), the power of recognising of God and expressing of humility also passed into them. In this way the love for the search of Absolute Reality, origin of everything, took its abode in the very nature of things. Every human being too has the share of this secret force which Shah Wali Allah calls the point of guidance (Nuqta'i Tadalli).[10]

Returning to the point from where we started. The origin of this creation lies in the Will of God (ارادۃالحق). Like an arithmetician who in his mind forms various numbers going into infinity from one digit, God's Will or Iradah had the capacity or power (Kamal) to create these things which needed its practical expression. His will also contained all the knowledge of the things-to-be. But what actuated will towards this end is replied by Shah Wali Allah in the following words.

"There is no doubt about it that the Truth of the Truths (Haqiqatul Haq'iq) is a Unity where there is no access to diversity.

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10. Vide Fuyud : p. 77.

The essential feature of its nature is differentiation through descents. It is through these descents that the values of various degrees of existence are fixed or defined. The motion of Unity, a gradual process which results in diversity, is actuated by the pious and pure Love—a thing higher than the will or ارادہ. At the outset this Love was simple (basit), but as gradually diversity made its appearance, its circle became widened. The fact is that for each stage of existence there is a particular state of Love which by itself is the cause of manifestation of the stages."[11] In short, in the universe the material form of everything is the manifestation of a particular Love (محبت جزئیہ).

God is not only the Creator but also the knower of the movements of every particle created. He gets the knowledge of them in two ways . Implicit way and Explicit way. "As God knew of His Being, He also became aware of the system of Existence (Wujud) as an essential feature of His Person or Dhat. That is, the knowledge of the cause also included the knowledge of the effect. Now so far things of the universe are concerned, all were there in the Divine Existence. They were not there in the capacity of contingent, but in the creative power of God or Necessary Being.

"In short, there is a Divine power (Kamal) and an essential Demand of His Being (Iqtida'i Dhati) in the face of everything created. Or to be more clear, it is from these two states (power and Essentiality) that the manifestation of things took place. Just as every perfection of Divine Being, in respect of its characteristics, demands the creation of a thing, in the same way, everything depends on a capacity for its existence. That is to say, the capacity of the Necessary Being and things created are identical facts. In fact these Kamalat or capacities are the essentials of the Necessary Being and in relation to His Entity they are His Knowledge ('Ilm), Power (Qudrat) and Life (Hayat). That is, all of them are the effects of the cause, the Necessary Being.[12]"

The second way of knowing the thing by God is explained thus :

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11. Ibid. p. 301.

12. Ibid. p. 328.

"Everything that exists is an effect of the Necessary Being, and as long as they exist they depend on Him for life. The difference in the nature of things is the result of the variations of circumtances in the creation (Ijad), certainty (tahaqquq) and precedence (taqdim). The relation between the Necessary Being and his effects therefore is stronger than the relation between the form (surat) and the matter (mahalli surat). This relation demands the presence of all things before their Creator or Cause In short, the First Being knows the things by the things and by means of the forms which exist in His Being. That is, this knowledge which the Necessary Being gets or possesses through the contingent being of things, whether the things are concrete, is spontaneous, without the means of intellectual substance".[13]

THREE SPHERES OF LIFE :

In respect of certain peculiarities of the nature of existecne, the things created, as stated above, are divided into three grades of descent or three different spheres, viz , Sphere of Souls, Sphere of Mithal and Sphere of Matter. The first one lies close to the Abstract Reality, the third farthest from it and the second in between the two. But this should be borne in mind that these spheres do not lie in three spatial stages because they are actually three states of the existence. The difference in them is not of distance but of quality, as the first two are abstract or universal and the third one spatial and temporal, or particular.

1. **Sphere of soul :** This sphere lying close to the Almighty is inhabited by the angels (Mala'i A'la) and pious human souls. Angels of the higher grade live around the 'Arah or Pavilion and support it, worship God day and night, and pray for the forgiveness of the sins the **holy Fold (حظیرۃ القدس)** of the faithful and their safety from the hell-fire.[14]

In this sphere there is one United Form of souls which is, as described by the Prophet, multi-coloured, multi-faced and multi-tongued, and is known as "Holy Fold" (Haziratul Qudus). It is in reality the switch board (to use modern terminology) for all the activities of things of the universe. If God wishes to do anything His Will is reflected in this form and the angels come to know of it. They pass it on to the angels appointed

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13. Ibid. 329.

14. Hujjat, I, 27. Vide also Hum'at : p. 35.

for the service of the world of Matter, who act in accordance with that Will. For instance, if God wishes to favour any person, the idea is reflected in the Holy Fold from where through the angels it passes on to hearts of men. Thus the person in question becomes favourite of men and angels.[15]

The Holy Fold is realy the place where the human souls, bereft of material alignments, meet the Great Soul (Ruhi A'zam). The fact is that the human souls naturally feel attracted towards this Form as a piece of iron towards a magnet [16] It often happens that the pious human souls when attend towards this Holy Fold receive the reflection of the Divine Will and thereby come to know of the future events.

The angels of the higher grade are created by God from His own light as in the case of the "Fire of Moses". The angels of the lower grade come into existence from the refined essence of the elements of nature which by their connection with the higher angels become free from all earthly impurities. Besides angels, purified souls of some human beings also live in that sphere The Prophet is reported to have seen his companion Jafar bin Abi Talib flying with the bi-winged angels. As the time passess, says Shah Wali Allah, the light of the angels of the higher grade increases in volume spreading over a wider area[9] and with that light the capacities of human beings Divine Knowledge grows acute and bright. It is for this reason that close to the time of the Resurrection (قیامہ) as the entire universe becomes filled with light, the dreams of the faithful shall be true and their knowledge about Divinity will be perfect.[17]

1. Satans :

Just opposite to the angels, in nature and actions, there is a class of evil spirits which take their origin from rotten dark vapours. They are the Shiatin or devils whose main efforts are directed toward nullifying the good actions of the people, and leading them astray from the right path.[18] God gives the devils the capacity to appear to human beings in their dreams

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15 Hujjat. I, 27. Vide also At-Tafhimat : I, 30.

16. Hujjat, I, 63.

17. Fuyud. 145.

18. Hujjat I, 28.

or wakefulness, in various forms suited to their own evil natures These forms of the satans also reflect on the states in which they may be at the time of their appearance.

"It is clear to the intelligent person that the forms of the satans suggest nothing but callousness, filth and impiety. Under the spell of these satans, one does not love to tread on the path of God and is therefore tempted to perpetrate bad deeds. By bad deeds I mean, the deeds with which the human beings feel naturally disgusted, their hair stand on end and they condemn them outright.[19]"

2. Sphere of Similitude :

Next to the Sphere of Soul lies the Sphere of Similitude or the Ideal World which he discovered himself by his own spiritual powers or experiences. He proves the truth of his discovery by quoting several traditions of the Prophet. For instance, the Prophet refers to certain things which have no physical forms, but have been seen descending upon the earth. He saw the disturbances (فتن) coming down like the drops of rain; or once he stretched his hand, (while he was in a state of spiritual trance or (مراقبه) at the Ka'aba) to pluca buinfch of fruit from a tree in Paradise, but drew it back as he felt the heat of Hell These references, as a matter of fact, lead one to surmise that there is an ideal world where the ideas of things exist before they appear in physical form upon the earth.

The Holy fold is represented in this sphere in a human form It is really the collective form of the human species wherefrom the individuals with different capacities and aptitudes have come out and descended to the sphere of perception. Descent of human individuals from this ideal form, according to Shah Wali Allah, is analogous to a stringed instrument from which a musician after having judged the note of each string produces a continuous chain of songs, each song having its own quality and characteristics[20].

In the Holy fold the individuals, their souls, capacities and aptitudes and human substance, are one and the same and have

19. Ibid. p. 182.

20. Fuyud. p.p. 80-81

the same name. This unity of diverse individuals is known as 'Insan-i Ilahi' (Devine Man). It is due to this unity that in spite of differences in human beings the urge for and approach to God is similar in all[21]. It was in this sphere of similitude that the human souls took a pledge to remain obedient to God in the course of their stay in the world of perception (*a*).

3. Sphere of Matter :

All that exists in the world of Matter has its ideal form in the world of similitude. That is, before things appear in this world they are verified (Mutahaqqaq) and established in the ideal world Now this world is created from the elements every particle of which has its own peculiar properties. The combination of certain elements results in the formation of a new thing the properties of which are the synthesis of the properties of all the elements used therein. As the thing disintegrates the elements take their original position. In this way the appearance of the new things and the destruction of the old continues for ever. But for all that process there is a regular system and order directed by the Divine plan (Tadbir).

According to the characteristics of the created things the world of Matter, as stated elsewhere, is divided into three kingdoms (Mawalid Thalatha (موالید ثلاثہ) *viz.*, Minerals, vegetation, and Animal. The minerals have certain properties peculiar to their sphere. In the same manner the vegetation and the animal have the characteristics special to their respective spheres A diamond is different from a plant, and a plant different from a horse in the matter of existence. Each of these genera (mawalid) is further divided into various species which besides the special qualities common to all of the same genus, are distinguished from each other for their individual qualities or properties. For instance, the properties of diamond are different from the ruby, or a bee lives in a different way from the horse, and so on. It is the will of God that these specific qualities must not quit them as long as they exist. In

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21. Ibid.

(a) This refers to the verse of the Holy Quran :

Am I not your Lord ? (الست بربکم قالوا بلی)
They said, why not.

fact, it is for this permanent **Law of God** that each of the species exists in its own way[22].

These species and genera indeed have different properties or characteristics but they do not exist in isolated spheres. They are dependent on one another for their existence. All things of course are formed from the same elements, but the difference has occurred owing to the quantities used in their formation. The vegetation (a plant) takes root in the earth and absorbs certain minerals and grows up. The animals being endowed with the power of movement and understanding are apparently superior to the species of other two kingdoms.

If we minutely observe the life of these three kingdoms we will notice a gradual progress of the elements from fossail to animal life. This evolutionary process is understood by the mystics as the backward march of the elements towards their premier origin, the Shakhas Akber. This progress of the matter has actually culminated in the form of man, wherein the spheres of Matter and Soul have actually met together.

In fact, human beings possess the essence of the characteristics found in trees and beasts. But for their superior mental faculties; language, and will-for-action they stand out distinguished from the animals, and others. With these special qualities they can dominate the world of matter and receive divine knowledge.

MAN AS AN IMPORTANT ENTITY :

Man virtually represents a phase in the existence, as mentioned just above, where the spheres of Matter and Soul have met together. Or rather man stands on the border of two spheres. With the animal life on one side and the spiritual on the other, man has been given the gift of Reason to maintain balance between the two. Now it is up to him to select between the animal life and the angelic life or partly animal and partly angelic.

Thus it is clear that man is composed of two things Matter and Soul. As for the body, there is no difficulty to understand its nature by analysis of parts and limbs. It is composed of elements used in certain proportions as in the

22. Vide Summary of Hujjat.

case of beasts etc. This proportion of the elements is in reality responsible, as also in case of beasts, for the instinctive urges. "Difference in colour and temperament among men", writes Shah Wali Allah is due to the fact that Adam's form was made from the clay collected from different parts of the earth which now manifests itself in his progeny[23].

By body I mean only the animal body which is purely a material substance. As the elements meet together and take up a specific form, human or animal, as the will of God determines, the synthesis of them results in the creation or generation of peculiar force which spreads over the whole form and causes it to move. Shah Wali Allah names this force *Nasma* or Animal Soul (or Inferior Soul). This Nasma actually originates from the heart, proceeds towards the head and the liver linking all the three together, and then spreads over the whole body. It carries with it stimulating, perceptive, and understanding powers[24].

The Nasma runs through the body as fire in the ember or rose-water in the rose. No part is free from it. It has three controlling centres (as given above) in the heart, head and liver; These centres actually determine the movements of the body. If we take this Nasma as a town, heart would be its king, and the head its advisor and the liver its chief administrator looking after the internal security. The heart controls the emotions, the head analyses the results of the perceptive power of the Nasma retaining it also for future references ; and the liver controls the instinctive urges. It is necessary for a life in a specific sphere that all the three centres should cooperate with one another, which however is not possible unless all the three are allowed to develop together[25]. It is here that the necessity of another force is felt for the control and cooperation of all the three important centres of the Nasma. That force is the Superior Soul or Nafs-i-Natiqa a special divine gift to human beings.

The actions of the animals are strictly individulistic and exclusively directed by their natural instincts. If an animal

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23. Hujjat I, 28.

2 . Ibid. 21. Vide also Al-Budur al Bazigha : 32-34.

25. Hujjat : II, 213. Vide also Ham'at : 2 2.

feels an urge, he tries hard for the satisfaction of it. He has no regard for the means whatever it may be He knows instinctively the means for the satisfaction too which he uses throughout his life He is destined to move in his particular sphere. But that is not the case with human beings They are made naturally gregarious and they therefore live in the company of their own kind and lead a group life. But for the satisfaction of any of his urges, a man has to keep the means too before his mind, which should be convenient easy and non-interfering with such means used for the same purpose by others. But such a thing is not possible unless there is common spiritual link among all human beings which may force them to restrict their actions to certan limits.

SUPERIOR SOUL :

Nafsi Natiqa which is commonly known as the *Soul* is a thing quite distinct from the body. The soul really has been a great problem for philosophers and theologians. No attempt towards the solution of this problem has ever met with success. It attracts the attention of all intelligent persons but remains always tantalizingly at a distance from which it is difficult to grasp the nature of it. The religious leaders avoid discussion over it because according to them the soul belongs to the higher sphere and does not resemble any thing material ; hence its definition is impossible. One may understand it through some extreme purifying processes, but still its description would not be possible Imam Ghazali did not like to describe it because he feared its nature would be confused with the person of God. (ذات الحق) In the Quran it is mentioned as 'the Command of God' (من امر ربی) and no further elucidation has been made.

According to Shah Wali Allah the Nafsi Natiqa or the Superior Soul is the Universal Soul in miniature located in the heart of man [6]. It enters the body as the Nasma is strong enough to establish its link with the body It generally happens before the birth of a child. The Nafsi Natiqa has two aspects, one facing the animal self and the other the angelic self of a human being. Or it is the point of light which throws its lustre towards the body as well as the sphere of Soul. Thus it

26. Ham'at : 224.

possesses the capacities to know and control both the spheres of Matter and Soul.

These two aspects of the Nasi Natiqa have two capacities or forces, bestial and angelic, which either cooperate with one another or pull in different directions[27]. If the bestial faculty is stronger the actions of a man are swayed by beastly urges ; but if the angelic faculty is more powerful the man keeps away from such urges and leads a pious life. But here too the divine guidance is essential for human beings to realise the nature of the Nafsi Natiqa. "A man can attain perfection in the divine knowledge only through his Nafsi Natiqa and nothing else."[28]

The Nafsi Natiqa, as stated above, determines the deeds of human beings. But the matter does not end there After the deed is done, (physically it disappears), but its spirit returns to and is preserved in the Nafs in the form of an impression which in its turn enhances the urge of it for doing the same act again. How if the act is bad or evil and it is not approved by the Divine Guidance, the impression is dark and the force of bestial faculty of the Nafs is increased by it.[29] The continuance of evil deeds results in covering the angelic faculty with darkness reducing thereby the force of its actions. In fact, Nafsi Natiqa is extremely susceptible to the effects of the elements of nature. The more it is exposed to them the less becomes its potency for good actions.

But if any good deed is done by any person, the force of the angelic faculty is increased with it and gradually it becomes covered with light which helps the man to contact the Sphere of the Soul as well as the Sphere of the Almighty ('Alam-i-Jabrut).

Man as a Responsible Creature. In the midst of vast created world, as we have discussed in the previous pages, man occupies the central position owing to his innate faculties which provide him the means for his spiritual perfection. Unlike the angels and the beasts who act under the natural

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27. Hujjat- I, 46. Vide also Ham'at. p. 207.

28. Fuyud. 199.

29. Hujjat. I, 41. Vide Imam Razi's. (تفسر کبیر)

(Important commentary of the holy Quran written in the 6th century of the Hijra).

impulse, resistence of which is neither within their mean nor power,—*i e.* they are perfect or imperfect by nature and cannot attain any other state Man has been given the capacity to attain perfection by his personal efforts. He has the freedom to mould his character by doing *good* or *evil* but at the same time he has been warned of the consequences of certain acts which might follow in the wake of perpetration thereof.

It is for this natural capacity for perfection, and will-for-action, etc., that God selected man for the trust of responsibility which other created-things categorically refused to bear. Thus responsibility is an essential feature of human nature. It demands that the deeds useful for the support of the angelic faculty be made obligatory for it, and also wants that the unsuitable deeds be made unlawful for it, and a punishment be fixed for the violation of this law[30].

But usually human beings, due to certain reasons, have failed to realise the value of this responsibility. They are therefore dubbed as very ignorant and very unjust (ظلوم و جهول). But as God is not quite indifferent towards His creation, so He arranges from time to time for their guidance.

The Divine Guidance (Tadalli) occasionally referred to above, which prescribes a definite model of life for human beings, has a very peculiar nature. The Cognitive Form of the Universal Body (شخص اکبر) with which it recognised God has two facets. The one is opposite to the bodies and souls of the differentiated universe having the *selves* of all the individual things illuminated with its light. That is to say it is a unique thing which permeats the whole creation, to which the Material World is a kind of veil. The other facet of the Cognitive Form is turned towards the Ideal Existence (وجود ذهنی) and is applicable to the Divine Entity (Dhat-i-Haq); This facet has an ideal form in the world of Similitude which in eternity was concentrated in the ideal form of our Prophet.

Now as God desires the guidance of any people, the tadalli of the world of Similitude descends upon the earth in a form suitable for the circumstances and conditions. It may be a

30. Hujjat. I, 38. Vide the Quran-Sura (احزاب)

Prophet, a book or a place of pilgrimage or anything else[31]. These physical forms become sources of blessings and of divine knowledge whether the people are aware of it or not That is, through the blessing ensuing from these sources the people begin to realise truth without much efforts, because their angelic faculties become brightened up.

Prophethood : The most important form of the tadalli is the prophet, the most perfect form of which is the *Nabi* (نبی) who brings with him a book bearing a definite code of law for the development of human character with which the people can lead a civilised life and attain spiritual perfection. The prophethood included hakim (philosopher), Khalif or administrator of justice, a pious leader (هادی، مزکی), and others. The tadalli of the world of Similitude, meant for guidance of the times precedings the Prophet Muhammad, had descended in its imperfect form. In his case it manifested itself in its real and perfect form. It is for that reason that he is called the Last of the Prophets (خاتم النبین).

A prophet while preaching to the people has to keep in mind the achievement of his object of the tada'li, and the state of the people and the environments or conditions. He speaks to them in a language quite understandable to them, and demands from them of the actions which are not beyond their capacity. His primary object is to develop in his people four important qualities which are a prerequisite of spiritual perfection. These four qualities are : Purity, Moderation, Generosity, and Humility. With these qualities one is able to acquire a state which is similar to that of the angels in the Encirclement of Purity. Shah Wali Allah calls this state *Fitrat* (فطرت) or Nature. In fact these qualities constitute the Sa'adat (Virtue) (سعادة) which stands for Goodness and is responsible for ultimate emancipation of the acquirer. The attainment of Goodness is proportionate to the qualities developed by a person.

31. Fuyud, 75.
32. Ibid. 185.

For the development of these qualities, man depends on the knowledge of *Good* and *Evil* as preached by the Prophet. *Good* according to Shah Wali Allah can be applied to a thing which is perfect in its specific qualities, or to an act which is done in response to a natural urge in the way approved by the society. A horse is qualified for this term if he is perfect in the qualities needed for a horse In the same way a man is good if he possesses all the specific human qualities (which are the above mentioned four). What is inhuman in him is termed *Evil*. The Prophets whose duty it is to teach the people of the values of good and evil, receive their knowledge direct from God through the angels (Wahyi) or in dreams or visions[33]. By the way, a miracle does not form an integral part of the prophethood, as it is believed by some people. It is not necessary that a prophet should show some supernatural things in order to convince the followers about his mission. Of course, it sometimes happens that his activity in discharging heavy responsibility of guidance assumes a form of miracle. He fulfils his duties in the manner which is not possible for an ordinary person. He occasionally prays to God for help and it is granted. He faces the enemy with a force of a handful of followers which the angels by their presence there make appear double or treble the actual number. Or to boost up their morale they make the enemy appear to his followers for less than what their actual number is[34].

Responsibility Suggests Punishment and Reward :

Man has been called upon to carry out certain behests of the Lord for which he has been given capacity and means. In case he obeys the commands or fails in it, the punishment and reward are the natural outcome of it.

At this place a very important question arises : Why should at all a man be punished or rewarded if his actions are predetermined ? Punishment could be given if a man performs his act on his own initiative without an outside force's compulsion ! We have seen that man's body is composed of certain elements the synthesis of whose characteristics forms the temperament of an individual. Again, there is the Nafs to determine his actions. This is all natural. Then where and how the will of a man could work for which he should be punished or rewarded ?

33. Hujjat I, 120.

34. Ibid, 160.

This is really a very irritating problem which has always led to heated controversy among the philosophers and theologians and others. Some people believe it is the *Will of God* which determines all actions. Others refute it altogether on the ground that if it were so man's responsibility for actions ceases all at once. Under the circumstances the question of reward and punishment for one's actions does not arise. Shah Wali Allah has answered this question in the way given below :

"The deeds of men are primarily determined by their individual *Will* But as for the Will itself it is controlled from without. A man's state in this respect is similar to one who intends to throw a stone. He does not possess power to make the stone move without applying his force. Now the question arises, if the deeds are created by God and also the Will of man, then reward and punishment are meaningless.

"Reward and Punishment are virtually nothing but the application of some divine acts on other acts. At first He creates one state in a person and then creates another (of pain or comfort) in him relevant to the fist state. It is as raising the temperature of water is followed automatically by a process of evaporation.

"In reward or punishment man's choice and acquisition are not subject to reality. That is Nafsi Natiqa does not receive the effects of the deeds which are not supported by it, and God does not punish or reward any one for the deeds which do not effect the Nafsi Natiqa. When it is proved so far, it can be easily understood that the ikhtiar (choice) which has no permanent entity, can stand as a condition forreward or punishment, and can create a second state[35]".

At another place, Shah Wali Allah dicusses the same problems in the following words :

"Whether anything will materialise or not, is decided by the Will or Intention in the Highest Heaven or in a place lying between the sphere of angels and the Divine Illumination (ملاء اعلیٰ و تجلیٔ اعظم). The means to be adopted for the appearnce or otherwise of a thing is also fixed there without the possibility of any state of suspense. The philosophers who

35. Ibid. 334.

believe that doing or not-doing of anything lies purely in the ikhtiar (choice) of man, have not realised the nature of this will of the Highest Heaven.

"Our argument against the belief of the philosophers is that when a man intends to take the pen, to his mind lifting or not lifting of it is equal. But the superior expediencey (مصلحة فوقانية) has already decided what will actually happen... ..

"It is possible you may think that such a state suggests ignorance of the superior expendiency ; that is to say what is it which has made the thing necessary ? If so how it could be a point among the point of Truth. My answer to this is that there is no such thing as ignorance in this case; but on the other hand it suggests knowledge or cognition (معرفة) as also the fulfilment of the Truth. It would be ignorance if it were said that thing is not necessary. All religions deny this ignorance as they express their faith in the providence or predetermination That is it is believed by all that 'what has befallen you was inevitable, and what has not befallen you was impossible.'

"When you say that doing or not-doing of that thing is right, it is true knowledge and not ignorance. For instance if you see a person doing a thing you may think it is done out of compulsion as a stone when thrown may run on and on. But that is not correct. Or if you say that it is done without any cause or force outside your observation would again be wrong. That is, if you beleive that a man's *will* only carries out the orders of the superior expedience and that personally one does not feel an urge for an action, it is wrong. The actual thing lies just between the two-compulsions and personal will. That is to say, pesonal Will is an effect which does not go against its cause and with the cause already there the action cannot be avoided. The position and the state of the personal Will is that it gets pleased or displeased by its own state ; or by itself it has no concern with the higher control.

"If you believe that doing of a thing or not-doing of it was equal for me, I preferred doing it and this Will of mine is the real cause of it you will be right in one respect, because the

religion has mentioned this personal Will (ارادة) in order to make the commands(احکام) reasonable''.[36]

The gist of the long discussion is, as mentioned above, that the Will of a person is primarily subordinate to the natural tamperament and then to the Divine Will which creates that temperament. Now one has the option to do a thing or not to do it, but the Divine Will knows what will actually transpire.

Shah Wali Allah mentions at a place that all that has happened and will happen has been recorded on the ''Protected Tablet'' (لوح محفوظ or امام مبین) even before the universe was brought into existence. This protected tablet, as a matter of fact, is not actually a recorded book of paper or parchment or wooden blocks as we have with us. But the nature of that record is like the one in the mind of a person who commits the holy Quarn to his memory.[37]

Predetermination or taqdir as it is known in Islam is virtually fixing up a chain of causes and effects for the benefit of the universe. The fixation of this chain is made so, that each particle should behave as it is directed. In fact God does not want that by giving complete freedom to everything of movement and action He should create confusion in the system of the universe.

According to Shah Wali Allah this fixation of the causes is done by gradual process extending over five stages. The first stage is the appearance of all things-to-be in the will of God. So, there could be neither more nor less than what was contained in the Will of God. In the second stage, the quantity, quality and the time of every thing was fixed. That it was determined ''as to when Prophet Muhammad will come to the earth, where and how he will behave, and what persons Will oppose him'' In the third stage, the form of Adam and his progeny, their individual good or evil natures etc., were shaped in ideal forms The fourth stage is the moulding of the character of the embryo (like a seed that shows the type of tree it will grow to) At this stage the angels of the lower grade come to know about the nature of the lower grade and thereby

36. Ibid. 50.
37. Ibid : Al-Quran 85 : 22

the nature of the child and behave with him according to that knowledge. The fifth stage is the coming down to the world of perception (عالم محسوسات) of the ideal forms of the events and their materialisation.[38]

It happened sometime that the event destined to appear at a particular moment is cancelled at the invocation of a person. The fact is that the cancellation or appearance mostly depends on its inevitability. If the event is necessary for the system or life of the universe nothing can stop it It must come to pass. It is only the things of unimportant nature which can be postponed or cancelled by prayers or invocations. But that too is recorded there in the Protected Tablet that the invocation of such and such person will stop the appearance of that event.

Death :

Death means only a change of state in the existence of a thing. It is disintegration of a from into its component parts of which some new things come into existence. As a form completes its destined course in one sphere, by the pressure of certain cause or causes it passes on to another one It is wrong to believe that death is a cause of complete disappearance or total annihilation of a person or thing.

The case of man in regard to death is a little different from other things (including beast). Man possesses something (soul or Nafs) in him which does not belong to this material world. It is imperishable in the material sense and accepts no change. As a man dies, his body disintegrates into its parts but the soul along with the Nasma or animal soul (only the common sense with all experiences of the world passes on to another sphere called *Barzakh* or Transitional stage In this stage soul undergoes into its parts but the soul along with the Nasma or process until.[40]

Barzakh is a sphere lying between the Ideal and Material spheres and possesses the characteristics of both of them. The state of the soul (of deceased person) in this sphere can be

38. Ibid. 1 2.

39. Ibid. 124. Vide also Fuyud : 247.

40. Ibid. 58.

compared to man in dream, unconscious of his self. In the dream of the barzakh which will continue until man is resurrected, the past experiences of the life in the sphere of Matter, will appear in symbolic forms and will give him pleasure or pain as the case may be This pleasure or pain of the soul is in fact the reward or punishment of the man's deeds in this world. The objection of the non-believers that they could not see person after death being beaten by the angels with maces, nor was there any scorpion or snake to bite a corpse as the Prophet has mentioned does not hold good. In fact, those things belong to the sphere which the human eyes cannot see, otherwise the cries of the soul could be heard by everything in east and west. (*Vide* Hadith).

The peculiarity of the barzakh is that in it a soul can be contacted by the saints without much efforts. As the time passes over the death of a person and the soul undergoes certain punishment, it becomes purified like a metal put in burning fire becomes purified The more purified a soul becomes, the less difficult it is to contact it. It is for this reason that the saints after their death can benefit spiritually their disciples as much as they do in their life.

With the punishment having suffered in the barzakh, the impressions of the soul get washed away and on the *Day of Judgment* a believer will meet his creator in clean and pure form. The prophet has said that his followers (مومنین) will receive their punishment only in the grave and shall escape fire of hell.[41]

Resurrection :

As the universe has its beginning, so it has its end. It is the will of the Primal Cause that the chain of causes and effects should break and the reckoning of past record should begin. The disintegrated bodies will get back to their souls for the final judgment of the Lord. By the way, this meeting of the bodies and the souls is not a new birth ; but on the other hand it is only the completion of the first round of life. If souls were put into some other bodies, the punishments would have become meaningless[42].

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41. Ibid. 65

42. Ibid. 64.

On the Day of Resurrection, the deeds of men would be judged according to the laws of the Shariats revealed to the people in life through the Prophets. The impressions of the Nafs will speak for themselves that how they have been caused to appear. As the scriptures say, that each limb will be made to answer for its activity, it only refers to these impressions of the Nafs—which is a record of the deeds of men. These records of the Nafs gradually disappear in the Barzakh except the ones indelibly inscribed on it. The indelible records belong to the sins of major category (کبائر), such as flagrant violations of the social laws, sins against God's Entity (شرک) etc. On account of these sins, men will go to Hell and undergo other punishments until the records are burnt away. The Prophet has said, that his followers (مومن) even with indelibly inscribed impressions on souls will stay in hell but for a short time. Eternal punishment of Hell is meant for atheists and polytheists, and those who associated any thing with God (مشرکین). The nature of the punishment in Hell would correspond to the nature of the sins perpetrated in life. For instance, the man who failed to pay his poor-tax would be subjected to a punishment as carrying the weight on his back of the money whose tax is not paid. This however would be for a prescribed period.

In the same manner, in Paradise the doers of Good-in-life will enjoy the blessings of God. Their rewards would be equal to the quality of the good deeds performed by them. Their keen desires which they had asked from their Lord shall be fulfilled there. The Prophet saw a sweet-faced maiden in Paradise, who, as he was told by Jibril, was meant for Ja'afar b. Abi Talib, because he liked such a beauty.

On the Day of Judgment, says Shah Wali Allah, God will appear to believers in various forms and shapes[43] which they will see with the eyes endowed with special powers of sight. In fact, that is the greatest of all things which the faithful will be blessed with.

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43. Ibid. 14.

SHAH WALI ALLAH ON SOCIOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

Unlike his philosophical conceptions which though free from steriotyped expression, has exclusively a medieval tinge, Shah Wali Allah's sociological theories are remarkably modern. With a little modification in his fundamental ideas concerning this subject, he can be placed beside the best sociologists of the present time. His sociology, by the way, is a part of his *Hikmat 'Amali* (Practical Science) which also includes social sciences like politics and economics.

Shah Wali Allah, although a great mystic, does not believe in the renunciation of this world of Matter for the sake of spiritual achievement. In his opinion if all the people do that, the world would be left barren and the human race would gradually disappear. According to him spiritual progress is co ordinated with the social, economic etc., progress. The daily engagements of a man have their due effect on the soul, they enable it to receive divine knowledge or darken it (as their nature may be). For this reason the prophethood, he says, includes in it the removal of economic inequality from among the people of the world. For instance at the time of the Prophet Muhammad, the ruling classes of Rome and Persia had become so extravagantly luxurious in their habits that the working classes were virtually reduced to the position of beasts of burden. The prophet and his followers brought that social order of unequal economic standards to an end and founded a new one at its place.[1]

Shah Wali Allah has not written a separate book on sociology. But in his Hujjat, Al Budural Bazigha, Al-Khairul Kashir and other works, has elaborately dealt with the evolution of society, and the causes effecting its progress and disintegration.

EVOLUTION OF SOCIETY :

As the origin of the world is the same, the relation, among the created things are necessarily very close. The universe, as it is, is so very vast that unless there is a central system to govern it, it is possible it may go out of order very soon. The Creator has therefore arranged every thing in such a way that

nothing could move it away from its fixed sphere of activity. The activity of one thing is in complete harmony with the activities of other things. If anything goes wrong anywhere in this world, the world of Similitude and Soul are moved to action (at God's command) and the defective part is eliminated at an appropriate time. It is also the will of God that the human civilization should maintain a steady progress towards intelligent persons with new ideas of discoveries and inventions useful for man's daily life.

Creation of the world is of two catagories : inanimate and animate ; i e. (*a*) fossils, vegetation, and (*b*) animals. Though the animals are quite distinct from the inanimate things, yet the former are mainly dependent on the latter for their existence. In the case of human beings the progress in his collective life is in propotion to the exploitation of the inanimate sphere.

It has been discussed elsewhere that each species of the animal genus has its individual characteristics and sphere of activity. Some of them live in groups and work together while others are concerned with their individual affairs alone. Man is pre-eminently social and it is impossible for him to live alone. In order to satisfy his innate urges, he is obliged to seek the help and assistance of other human beings.

All these species of animal world have been revealed by God as a mode of life which they follow throughout their life. But human beings have been informed of the outlines of the method of their existence which they have to develop as the environmental circumstances permit. Man is different from the animals in another respect too. He has to keep the means besides the ends before his mind. He always looks for the means which are more convenient and effective. But the poignancy of desires, capacity to satisfy them, and the facilities provided by nature, vary according to persons, groups and environments The general conduct of men is therefore always different. For instance owing to lack of proper facilities for progress and means of initiation into better life, some groups of people remain for a long time in a state of barbarity ; while others having everything in their favour reach the highest standard of civilization. Human society thus at all time has varied between barbarity

and the highest stage of social evolution. Each stage lying between these two extremes is called by Shah Wali Allah **Irtifaq.**[3]

Shah Wali Allah puts this evolutionary process of human society into four distinct stages :—

1. Society of the dwellers of the forests and hills.
2. Society of the village inhabited by large groups, clans, tribes etc.
3. Urban society or a civilized group. (National Stage.)
4. International society.

The life of the people living in the forests and hills is much similar to the beasts : because they are less concerned with social obligations. The rural society is a stage higher than the former because in it the individuals understand to some extent their responsibilites and have regulated their life according to certain rules established by improved customs and habits. The society of the people of the towns is still higher a stage of development in which man's civic sense becomes perfected and daily life much more regulated. But the highest of all is the stage of internationalism wherein common brotherhood transcend (الربط الواقع بین اهل الا قالیم) the limits of clans, tribes, and nations. But such a stage is not always possible because the fittest person to be the leader of such a society (or state) is available only once in many centuries.[4]

The idea of social progress or irtifaq is inherent in every man. Even though left to himself one tries to find out the means to live a life as comfortably as it is possible. By his power of understanding he will somehow come to know as to how to quench his thirst, satisfy his hunger or other desires in a convenient manner.[5]

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3. Irtifaq literally means to lean on anything, but technically it implies an attempt on the part of man to fulfil his needs with the help of material things. The more a group of men is able to ? the sources of nature, the higher is the standard of their irtifaq.
4. Hujjat. I., 69.
5. Ibid 87.

FIRST STAGE OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT :

A man, however primitive his needs may be, in his individual capacity stands nowhere. He is obliged by his innate desires (the fulfilment of which means life) to associate himself with other men. He will have a wife, produce children and look after them. This small group with closely linked individuals which we name as Family is the very basis of society. This in fact is the first permanent group that came into existence, and the soundness of any social order depends on the existence of harmony in it.

The collective needs of the family (or many families) of the jungle dwellers combines together all the people living in a locality bound by natural barriers, into one unit. An intelligent person endowed with vigour and force assumes leadership and settles their mutual affairs. He introduces new customs and rules for his subordinates, daily routine and so on.

In this stage man recognises the utility of the grains grown in his immediate neighbourhood ; he arranges its regular supply throughout the year, discovers ways to prepare suitable dishes from it. Also he gradually comes to know of other sources of maintenance, like milk, flesh, meat, etc. He stores up water, invents some sort of implements for cultivation, and makes utensils for cooking his meals[6].

Origin of Language :

The greatest miracle which man did and which distinguished him from the animals is his evolvement of a form of expression of his feelings. The beasts know only a kind of voice by which they express their anger or satisfaction. Man moulded those sounds or voices into some kinds of syllables and gradually developed them into a regular system of speech. "The basis of language" says Shah Wali Allah, "is this that the actions and the forms of things have some relation with certain sounds. Or the sound and the forms are the effects of the same cause. In lughat or language that sound is completely copied, and from that an expression is formed by new tenses and moods[7]." With the help of language man has been able to exchange his feel-

6. Al-Burdural Bazigha. p. 54.
7. Ibid. p. 73. Vide Hujjat, I, 69.

ings and thoughts with other's help and take their help in his difficulties. In fact, language is greatly responsible for social developments

In short, the primitive man or the man living in the hills and the forests has a family, a form of speech and a cooperative link with his neighbours.

II. Rural Stage.

This stage extends over a larger group of people living in the plains and engaged in various occupations. They respect the word of the person or persons whom they have accepted as their leader and follow his or their advice in all matters.

The life in the general sense has become co-operative co-ordinated. Growing of crops, fruits, digging up of walls and canals for irrigations, taming of animals for service in their daily life are the new developments of this stage. A barter system for exchanging surplus commodities is also established as a mutual help. The individuals are pursuing their daily vocations in accordance with the daily needs of the people. The life is regulated by customs and habits which by experience they have found useful.

For the sake of keeping peace and order, the leaders of society must see that the family life is quite harmonious and is not interferred with. The family life (tabdir-i-manzil) in the words of Shah Wali Allah, consists of four things; marriage, birth, ownership, and association If all the factors are sound and flawless, the family life runs smooth. The marriage must be consecrated with the consent of the parties concerned, and it should be performed in the public so that every one may know the future relationship of the people. To man, owing to his power of endurance, Shah Wali Allah assigns the duties of procuring means of subsistence. To woman for her weak nature assigns only domestic duties such as cooking, rearing up of children, keeping the house clean etc[8]. The children should be educated according to the aptitude and the future needs of the community. It is the duty of the leaders of the group to see every one is allotted with some work, otherwise the idlers will

8. Hujjat: I, 73.

(وفيح اربع جمل : الزواج ، والولاد والملكة والصحبة)

take to some anti-social activities. The allotment of work should be done according to the individual capacity, needs of the community and environmental facilities. For instance, those who live in the plains must grow crops, produce food grains, keep cattle for wool etc.; and those who live near the sea-shore take to fishing and so on. A weaver's son can master his trade better than the same by a peasant's son[9].

Land which produces staple food for the community should not be given permanently to a selected few, because such a system would lead the community to ruin. The land should belong to the cultivators as much as it is possible for every one to till. The cultivators can reclaim more land too provided there is no encroachment on the rights of others[10]. The mines and woods should in any case remain the property of the public, and not be allotted to any particular person, for in that case the poor would be deprived of their daily requirements (fuel, salt etc.).[11] It would be better if the leader of the community engages some person to work in the mines and distributes the product equally among the people.

Men in respect of their habits are of various categories. There are extravagants, who like to lead luxuriant life, then there are those who follow a balanced life's standard, and there are others as well who have very little to satisfy their requirements. The middle course is by far the best. Luxury is bad because great indulgence into it makes one indifferent towards the life after-death. The poverty is bad too, because it effects the character of a man[12].

National Stage :

Next to the rural stage comes the stage of nationalism or the stage of Town life. This is regarded by Shah Wali Allah as the very important stage, because the life in it has become more refined and regulated, individual vocations more carefully pursued, and the common relationship strengthened by sentiments.

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9. Ibid. 88.

(و جد بهم عليهم بالطبع ان يكون تمرين الاولاد على ماينفعهم فطرة)

10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Al-Badurul Bazigha. p. 55.
13. Ibid.

Town, its Significance :

Town according to Shah Wali Allah does not mean markets, streets, forts or buildings of brick and mortar But it means an association of a civilized people consisting of various clans, tribes etc., all united together by ties of sentiments such as common religion and common moral standard[14]. As the vocasions of the people are varied and numerous, an efficient and strong body would be essential to keep life of the entire nation intact. The body thus formed is termed by Shah Wali Allah as *Imam* or the *Leader*[15].

The leadership of the town should be entrusted to a really good person who in the performance of his duties be assisted by some deputies, each responsible for a separate section or work or department. The leader himself should be of a very high character, and a model in every respect for others. The best thing is that his election should be unanimous; otherwise the dissenters would always try to create trouble. But it would be too bad for the *town* (nation) if he lacks confidence of the people or is partial, or of weak will and ignorant of administrative skill.

In Shah Wali Allah's opinion the leader selected from a family renowned for its administrative skill would be more successful There are many ways of electing a leader; but in every case, it must have the approval of all sections as stated above.

The main causes of deterioration of the town life is the election of narrow minded, short tempered leaders assisted by the selfish deputies who care more about themselves than those put under their charge.

Deputies or Ministers :

Before selecting his ministers, the leader or the king should make sure that they are loyal and honest. After having been allotted work, section or departments (which should in any case be according to their experience, capacity and worth) the leader should call upon them to submit their daily report of work to him. The most important departments for the administration of the town are as follows :

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14. Al-Badurul Bazigha, p. 18
15. Ibid.

1. Defence. This is for the state like the hands for the body ready to protect it against any attack.
2. General administration or internal order. This is like the brain for the state. There should be a well-knit structure of administration without any weakness anywhere.
3. Justice.
3. Taxation.
5. Kings household affairs.
6. Secret Service.[16]

MAIN CAUSES OF DISINTEGRATION OF NATIONAL LIFE

The life of the nation will remain intact if there is no insecurity felt by any person or group of it. Environment, natural aptitudes and national requirement, should be considered well before alloting work to the people. If all the people take to some particular or more profitable vocation, agriculture or business for instance, the vocational life will suffer a set back. To close the state treasury upon the poor and the needy and imposition of heavy taxes on those who are unable to pay, is another important cause of ruin of the state. (Shah Wali Allah takes nation and state in the same sense). Also, if large number of idlers merely on the plea that they are learned men, or sons of great saints, draw on the state treasury, much of the wealth of the nation would be wasted away. If the ruling class takes to a luxuriant life and makes the poor people work for them like beasts of burden, the state will gradually become depopulated and ruined. It was only extravagance and luxury which led two great empires of Rome and Persia to ruin.[17]

The other causes of ruin of the state are :

1. Appointment of incapable, short tempered and partial officers.
2. Conspiracy against the leader which leads to blood-shed and chaos.

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16. Hujjat. I, 81.
17. Ibid. 79, 199,

3. Prevalence of bad customs like gambling, drinking and usuary.

4. Bad habits like theft, dishonesty in business and other daily affairs.

5. Hoarding of food-grains when it is badly needed for the society.

6. Excess of harmful birds, insects and beasts in the land which cause famine:

7. Bad treatment of the traders and wayfarers.

8. Leaving the arable land uncultivated.[18]

POSITION OF RELIGION IN SOCIETY

According to Shah Wali Allah religion is an integral part of any society. Customs and habits which lay the foundation of a society are fostered by religion alone. Religion puts limitations to individual activities against going to extremes. It is always inspired or developed from mere superstitions, and preached through a person selected by God. The founder of a religion preaches according to the condition prevailing at the time. He replaces bad or defective customs by new ones.

The primary purpose of every religion, in the opinion of Shah Wali Allah, is to introduce four important qualities :—

1. Obedience (اطاعت).
2. Piety (تقویٰ).
3. Bravery (شجاعت)
4. Justice (عدل).

If the king develops these qualities in him he will be much respected and the relation between himself and his people would automatically become cordial. The people will then hold him dear, pray for his long life and obey his orders with pleasure.

APPOINTMENT OF CALIPH

There are many ways of electing a caliph. 1. Selection by an assembly of learned men, chiefs of the towns or the states,

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18. Ibid. pp. 80-81.

and the commanders of the fighting forces. 2. By general election. 3. Any one may occupy the caliphal throne by force. In the last case, it is necessary for the people to wait and see for his actual behaviour. If he does not do justice towards the people and interferes with the laws of the Shariah, the people are not bound to obey his orders. They should rise against him and try to dethrone him.[20] A caliph, in fact, is a representative of the prophet on the earth. He must therefore behave in a manner as required of his position. He should look after the religious affairs of the people, in the way the prophet has given in his Shariah.

For the mutual conduct of business in various countries and the peoples, it is essential that there should be a common currency. This will facilitate trade and exchange of visits. The currency should bear the name of the caliph or some other sign appealing to the sentiments of the common people.

Because the caliph and his subordinates are the servants of the people, they are entitled to take money from the state treasure for their maintenance. Otherwise they will not be able to work diligently for the state. But there should by no means be any provision for luxury.

29. Hujjat. II, 258.

SHAH WALI ALLAH ON MYSTIC DEVELOPMENT

As in the other branches of learning and erudition, Shah Wali Allah stands out quite prominent in the field of theoretical and practical mysticism. He was capable enough to explore the spheres of matter and spirit with equal ease and efficiency. Thus he may well be counted among the eminent sufis in Islam and his contribution to the science of mysticism is quite sound and considerable.

Shah Wali Allah inherited aptiude for mysticism, as he did for theology and jurisprudence, from his ancestors who had been eminent scholars of all these branches of learning. In his Anfasul 'Arifin, a work on biographical notes concerning his forefathers, Shah Wali Allah recounts their deep interest in mystic practices and the position they had attained on the path of spiritualism. Shah Abdur Rahim, father of Shah Wali Allah and of Fatawa-i Alamgiri fame, was a distinguished sufi attached with various orders of sufiism viz. Chishtia, Qadaria, Naqshbandia. He had also spiritual contacts with prominent sufis likes Shaikh Adam Banauri, Shaikh Ahmad of Sarhand, and Khawaja Khurd and many others as referred to in his works by Shah Wali Allah.

Shah Wali Allah learnt his theoretical mysticism from his father and also became his disciple in different orders. He was only fifteen (as he gives in his autobiography الجزء اللطيف) when by diligent application to spititual practices he became quite acquainted with the actual mystic manners (آداب طریقہ) (vide details in his Anfasal Arifin).

Shah Abdur Rahim before he died in 1131 A.H. appointed Shah Wali Allah as his successor or khalifa and allowed him to take bayet (spiritual allegiance) from the people eager to cover the spiritual path. In the year 1144 A.H. (1732 A.C.) as he was in the Hejaz, Shah Wali Allah received another

khirqa from the great sufi Abu Tahir Makki in almost all the orders of Sufiism. This was, in fact, a great achievement on the part of this young scholar.

In his Fuyudul Haramayn, a collection of his notes on visions, Shah Wali Allah explains how at various stages of his spiritual experience he contacted the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) and learnt *the truth* (حقیقت) through it and thereby overcame certain difficulties of mysticism (the *triqat*). While in the Hejaz he was informed in a state of spiritual ecstasy (مراقبہ) that his knowledge of triqat was sound enough to guide the novices on the path. "I was going about the ka ba" he writes in his thirty fourth vision (مشاهده) "when I felt my own light emanating from me which appeared to be splendid and had covered the space, having overshadowed things thereof. I understood it to be the light of *Qutbiat* (قطبیت) (position of being qutub or leader) which had been bestowed on me", In an other vision he writes that he saw that he was granted the robe of spiritualism (خلعت الغوب) and blessed with the immunity from questioning of the Day of Judgment. "This is the gift which very few mystics have been blessed with". He was also informed that he was the leader of the age (قائم الزمان), when God Almighty had entrusted with the task of introducing reforms among the (politically, religiously and morally) misguided people in his fatherland. They had, in his opinion, forgotten the actual purpose of life altogether.

In fact, Shah Wali Allah, as stated by him and acknowledged by all scholars was a mystic of very high order, and the account given by him in his *Fuyuz al Haramayun*, *Hamat*, sat'at and many other works written in his later days, are his true religious experiences (کرامات). "I feel" he writes "that revelation of these spiritual secrets is intended not for the perfection or education of my own self, but it is for the guidance of the people in general as well.

In the time of Shah Wali Allah the sufis were divided into various schools and orders which were always at logger-

heads with one another, and at the same time entire class of sufis was faced with opposition from the side of the jurists especially scholars of fiqh) and so-called theologians (not acquainted actually with tariqat) who, according to him disapproved certain expression of the sufis, like the ones uttered by Husayn b-Mansur al-Hallaj, (d·922 A.C.) and Junaid of Baghdad.

The other reason for the opposition by the jurists was the doctrine of Pantheism (وحدةالوجود) as propounded by some outstanding sufis of some orders, such as Ibn al Arabi of Andalusia (d.63 A.H.) and Abu Said Khaiyr of Iran. The importance of this doctrine to speak roughly is that the Greater in a way is identical with the creation. It was really difficult for the theologian to understand the implication of this doctrine and hence disliked it and they disallowed with the help of the state the propagation thereof. Really speaking the theologians fearing such utterances of the sufis might misguide the illiterate people went as far denying any place to mystic practices in religion· Or in their opinion the path of so-called tariqat was by no means identical with the path of shariah.

About a hundred years before Shah Wali Allah, Shaikh Ahmad of Sarhand commonly known as Hazrat Mujaddid Alif Thani or the reviver of the second milenium of the hijra, rejected altogether the theory of wahdatul wujud in favour of his non wahdatush shuhud or apparentism. The learned Sheikh Ahmad propounded that the creator of the universe could never be one with the universe. He was really beyond the reach of any human understanding. In his opinion all the stages of the tariqat could be traversed only by following strictly the path of the shariah. The new theory as it won popular approval weakened the position of the general mystic order. Finding the house divided against itself the jurists moved actively and got the upper hand. The difference had reached unmanageable extent when Shah Wali Allah appeared on the scene. He studied the situation from the realistic point of view and took upon himself the difficult task of reunification of various sects

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1. Al-Hallaj was executed at Baghdad in 922 A.C. as the theologians disapproved his (انا الحق) or claim to godhead. The sufis say he met that fate because he betrayed the truth.

2. Junaid is said to have uttered in his ecstasy (سبحانی ما اعظم شانی)

and schism of the nation. He really wanted the Shariah to flourish without eliminating the sublime path of *Tariqat.*

Shah Wali Allah was himself brought up in an atmosphere which was replete with the sentiments for the *Wahadatul Wujud.* Everyone with whom he came in contact, right from his childhood to his maturity, was a strong believer in the truth of this theory. His father Shah Abdur Rahim and his uncle Shaikh Abu Rida were great scholars of Wahdatul Wujud and had made great researches in it. But both of them being great theologians and jurists were infavour of reconciling the path of *wijdan* (وجدان) with that of reason and Shariah (عقل و شرع).

Shah Wali Allah lived at a time when political power was fast slipping out of the hands of the Muslims. The economic and religious position too was not such that it could have been envied by others So Shah Wali Allah, for the unity and stability of the nation, made an attempt to remove differences existing among sects and sufistic orders. As he understood well both *wijdan* and *shariah* he was capable enough to achieve his object. He was indeed successful in bringing about reconciliation between both the "aspects of the religion of Islam". He explained in the course of his discussions the special attributes the sufis developed in the process of spiritual achievement, and he clarified the point that the differences in their attributes were really the cause for differences in their utterances which in fact were not properly understood by the laymen or novices of various other orders Thus in words the differences were merely subjective rather than objective.

According to Shah Wali Allah, the religion of Islam has two aspects : exoteric and esoteric (ظاهر و باطن). The exoteric aspect deals strictly with the affairs of the world, man's dealings with men, outlining his position among fellow beings and relations with the supernatural powers which is responsible for his life here in this world and the next one The esoteric aspect of the religion deals exclusively with man's intuitive study of the invisible and an attempt to understand certain details of it. As a matter of fact this attempt on the part of man to study the invisible for the sake of his inner development, is not done on his own initiative ; but it is actually prompted

by the Creator Himself Who wants Himself to be known. Also it has been the wish of Allah, as says Shah Wali Allah, that both the sides of the religion of Islam should continue to flourish together for the fulfilment of which He sent from time to time his revivers and leaders (مجدد و هادی).

Divine guidance or tadalli (تدلی) is sent only to facilitate man's progress towards God. It clearly points out to the ascetic as to what type of difficulties he will have to face and how he is to overcome them. Thus tadalli on different occasions takes different forms such as a Prophet, a book, a prayer, a pilgrimage or some such things which possess powers to influence the human souls. This path is commonly called the path of the shariah. "In this path nearness to God (قرب الهی) is attained by purifying ones self and disciplining ones limbs through constant worship and recitation, imparting knowledge to the ignorant or illiterate folks and doing such other social services in accordance with the directions of the forms of tadalli (guidance).

Besides this, says Shah Wali Allah, there is another path, equally serene and sublime, for reaching God and that is the *direct path of tariqat* (mysticism) which is free from all other means. The progress here lies purely on mystic's personal capacity and efforts. "In this path the mystic awakens first the reality of the ego (انا) and through it acquires the knowledge of God (معرفت الہی). In the journey on this path of tariqat or mysticism he passes through several stages like fana (annihilation), baqa (resuscitationing,) jadb (unconsciousness), tauhid (توحید) (unity) and others as far as his personal qualities (کمالات) take him.

As it is well known, this second path of approaching God was not followed in the time of the Holy Prophet, because he needed the tadalli (تدلی) or guidance for the first path. The reason was that at that time the education of the masses was the main object rather than the spiritual progress of certain

1. انی احببت ان اعرف فخلقت الخلق I wanted myself to be known, so I created the universe (creation).

individuals; so the course, of which the unification of the antagonistic sections of humanity and the uplift of their social and moral life could have been brought about, suited most. Also, the Prophet did not give any preference to the path of tariqat over the one he had established (*i.e*, of Shariah).

Which Path is better ?

"The thing is" says Shah Wali Allah, that if both the paths are seen from one angle, so to say, the one would appear decidedly superior to the other; but again if they are seen from another angle the difference would altogether disappear. For instance, if you see two things as they exist in the wujud (existence) and the speciality of the wujud is that it has covered the creation from all sides—the reason for the superiority of the one over the other will become clear to your eyes. On these bases you can also compare the values one with that of the other. But on the other hand if you take them as the cause for the same effect, for one reason the possibility of one's superiority over the other would disappear, although for another reason one will be better than the other which will look clearly devoid of all values.

"But however the Salikin (سالکین) or seekers after Truth took advantage of both the paths according to their individual circumstances and conditions. 'The men of jadhb or mystics get a little awakening of the self by realising the divine light as it diverted itself towards the ephemeral world, and thereby acquired necessary knowledge about God. You will see that a learned man gets the knowledge about divinity from the Kitab-u-Sunnah (*i e*, Scriptures) by deep study and practice thereof while the mystics get the same by attending carefully to His light and immortalising with it. Explaining it further as to how the second path (mysticism) gradually established itself in the life of the followers of Islam, Shah Wali Allah divides spiritual progress into four stages.

Four Stages of Mystic Development in Islam :

These four stages are really the four degrees of the mystic path leading towards the ultimate Truth. To the sufis of each stage he assigns the same position and status in regard to their relation with God although in spirituality they differed in accordance with their perfection or stages of progress. In

status they are all equal as all of them have been the devotees of the Lord".

In the time of the Prophet and their friends and their immediate successors (صحابہ تابعین و تبع تابعین) the elects (کاملان) were devoted entirely to the obedience of the laws of the Shariah, and through it alone they could attain perfection in their spirituality. For instance, their mystic practices or ihsan (احسان)-special gift of God-comprised salat (prayer), recitation, fasting, pilgrimage, Zakat (زکوٰۃ) etc None of these elects however indulged in meditation as it became the practice of the sufis of later days. Nor was there any case of "tearing off garments out of ecstasy, nor any utterances contrary to the Shariah as we hear from the tongues of the sufis of the succeeding periods. Indeed, very few miracles or super-natural incidents were ascribed to them. The reason is that the spiritual state which gives effect to such miracles had not been much attended to or it had not yet become a special attribute (ملکہ) of theirs. If anything of this nature ever happened, it was merely accidental and due only to their strong belief and their brightened intellectual powers by which they could see invisible things in dreams or semi conscious state.

The second stage begins with the sufi Junaid of Baghdad who evidently is the Chief of all mystics. As some elects of the former group advanced a little farther in their path of spiritualism, they detached themselves from the affairs of the world and passed much of their time in meditation. By this practice they intended to attain the *nisbat* (نسبت), a superior mental or spitual state, of connection with God (تعلق باللہ). These mystics received divine illuminations (تجلیات) and expressed their experiences in allegorical language.

They were the people who even listened to music (a practice not ordinarily allowed), danced and tore off their clothes in excess of ecstasy, and they had powers to read the secrets of the hearts. They preferred solitude to the society of men and also could understand well "*the dupes of satan*". The object of their constant worship was neither fear of hell nor desire of paradise ;

but on the other it was pure love for God, the ultimate Reality, which they wished to realise in this life. They received divine illumination like a flash of lightning from time to time.

But a large number of sufis stopped at this stage for want of necessary guidance or personal capacity except a few like Abu Sa.d Abul Khair and Abu Hasan Kharqani (ابوالحسن خرقانی), who proceeded further and opened up a new stage on the path of mysticism. They reached a new stage called by Shah Wali Allah the stage of Jadhb (جذب) *i.e.*, destruction or unconsciousness and cleared the course for *nisbat tawajju* (نسبتہ توجہ) unfaltering attention. The veils of the mortal things were lifted up and they could see clearly that the existence of *all things* depended entirely on *the* One Thing (ذات احد). The sufis of this stage lost themselves completely in the One Being in excess of ecstasy and forgot the formalities of prayers or worship.

In this stage the mystics were not yet able to realise the entities of *tauhid-i-wujudi* (توحید وجودی) and *tauhid-i-shuhudi* (توحید شہودی) separately. Their object was only to get themselves absorbed into the godhead and in that state they cared little about the relation which could be there between the Creator and the creation. Also they heeded not much about the explanation as to how a human being could merge into God and what were the realities of *death and life* (فنا و بقا).

In the time of Shaikh Ibn al Arabi (d. 663 A.H.) mysticism took another turn when alongwith the spiritual practices the mystic started discussions over the intricacies and the truths of their pursuits. This was partly due to the progress they made on the path of *wijdan* and partly due to their broadening vision into the Ultimate Reality. Now they could observe clearly the process governing the universe which originated from the *One Being* or *Necessary Being.*

This historical development in the science of mysticism represents four stages (احوال) or ecstatic conditions which the

sufis attained in their lives. Each sufi gives out his experience according to the state he is in. It is for this reason that the utterances of the sufis vary from individual to individual. "In fact, Reality is a limitless ocean", writes Shah Wali Allah, "Which can be different in the expressions of the mystics". The sufis have attempted to reveal the secrets of nature and it is because of their efforts and attainments that the earth and heaven are lit up and an access to the Ultimate Reality has become quite easy....Just as clouds and humidity affect the earth, the pious souls affect the world of hearts..." (vide Ham'at p. 51).

The positions of the sufis on the path of mysticism, as stated above, varies according to the stages on the path they have traversed. The path itself lies extended between the spheres of perceptibles and imperceptibles, and the mystics go on as far as it is within the capacity of each one of them. Some mystics go as far as the Ultimate Reality and, in fact, their state is the highest. It would be wrong to call certain expressions of the sufis unislamic because of their literal sense. In the same way the theories of wahdatul wujud (unitism) and Wahdattush Shuhud could be reconciled and brought closer.

Wahdatul Wujud or Pantheism (Oneness of Existence) is the doctrine concerning the relations of God with his creation, as propounded generally by the theocrats of India and Greece. In Islam, Ibn al Arabi has been great exponent of it. But in course of time it became so popular that, we find, the ideas and expressions of all great saints tinged with it. Although there have been several attempts on the part of jurists and theologians to refute this theory, yet it never ceased to be the supreme factor in the faith of the general class of the sufis.

According to Ibn i-Arabi, it is only God that exists, everything else is His manifestation (ظہور). Hence the world is identical with Him. The identity of the world is conceived on the basis of the identity of His Person and Attributes. In other words, the world is a form of emanation. The theory of emanation as held by Ibn al Arabi and elaborated by his followers as

1 Abu Sa'id Abul Khair was a great sufi of Iran (d. 441 A. H.) whose quatrains are very well known among the sufis.

2. Abul Hassan Kharqani : He was a contemporary of Abu Sa'ad Khair and Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna.

well as the later mystics, for example Jami, is this: "The Being is indeterminate (Lata 'ayyun); it is the stage of Indeterminateness of the Unity. In its descent or Determination it passes through five stages. The first two are 'Ilmi or cognitive and the last three are Khariji or Existentional. In the first descent, the Unity becomes aware of Attributes it is only Ijmali, i.e. general—it is implicit. In the second descent, the Unity becomes conscious of itself as possessing the attributes; that is the stage of attributes in details it is explicit. Then begins the actual descent. The third descent therefore is Ta'ayyun-i-Ruhi or Determinism as spirit or spirits; the Unity breaks itself up into so many spirits (ارواح) for example angels. The fourth descent is Ta'ayyun-i-Mithali or Ideal Determination; thereby the world of ideas comes into being. And the fifth descent is Ta'ayyun-i-Jasdi or Physical Determination; it yields the phenominal or physical beings.[2] These stages are only gradual realisation of the capacities that were already latent in the attributes. The same identity of dividing modes with His Attributes, and of His Attributes with His Being, is brought out in another way. That is Ibn-ul Arabi holds that Divine attributes are identical with the names.[3]

As to the relation between the world and God, Ibn al Arabi believes that it is one of identity. In bringing out this identification he proceeds either from the negation of the world or from the affirmation of God. The world or multiplicity exists only as the modes of unity—as His modes it has no existence of its own—the essence which is existent in nature of things, have not got the slightest touch of reality about them. Proceeding from the side of God, Ibn al Arabi maintains that the world is God; it is the modes in which the Unity has differentiated itself; these modes exhaust the unity wholly; the unity has no existence over and above them:

—there is absolute nothingness beyond these modes, and mystics should not take the trouble of seeking God beyond this world. Ibn al Arabi denies transcendence and he denies immanence, because these conceptions imply duality of existence. He

1. Vide Fuzul Hikam.
   Also Vide Burhan Ahmad's "*Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid*".
2. Mujaddid's conception, pp. 58-62.
3. Ibid.

puts it thus : If His infinitude would be lost. Hence Tawhid should be affirmed with Tanzih or Tashbih, *i.e.* with transcendence and immanence both.[4]

The doctrine as a matter of fact is purely a personal affair and it has nothing to do with dogmatic discussions, for the experiences of the (صوفی) mystic could be felt and not explained. It was due to this fact that the words of Ibn al Arabi were always misconstrued. At a stage, things came to such a pass that tariqat had a direct opponent in Shariat. Shaikh Ahmad of Sarhand who was both a theologian and a sufi refuted pantheism in his own way, and presented his own theories of *Wahdatuah Shuhad* (or Apparentism).

Shaikh Ahmad divides his mystic progress into three stages, viz. *Wujudiyyat* or *pantheism. zilliyat* or *adumberation*, and abdiyyat or servitude. As the first stage a sufi has the spiritual experience of pantheism. This stage lasts for a long interval. Thereafter he passes on to the stage of zilliyat or adumberation. There he finds that the world is a shadow or semblance of Reality. But this is only the transitional stage. Yet the ability of the creation and the Creator has not become clear. In course of time the mystic grows that stage too and enters the final stage, the stage of abdiyyat or Servitude. Here he finds that the world and God are *two*. At this stage he realises that all his mystic experiences were subjective and un-reliable, and they did not correspond to objective reality ; and that God is far and far beyond that human faculty of reason and of intuition :" (ان اللہ ورا' الورا' ثم ورا' الورا').

i.e Allah is beyond the beyond, and again beyond the beyond.[1]

The gist of Shaikh Ahmad's argumentation is that pantheists were wrong because they had not yet reached the stage of perception as he himself did ; their opinion in regards to the reality was therefore immature and not wholly true. This clear and unequivocal refutation of the common faith of the mystics by a great sufi caused a commotion in the mystic

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4. Ibid.

1. Ibid. (Vide for the details Maktubat-i-Imam Rabbani V.I. Ept. 3).

circles, and resulted in dividing the people into two warring camps each trying to substantiate its own claim to realisation of truth

Shah Wali Allah himself a great sufi, however brought about reconciliation between the two theories of pantheism and apparentism, and bridged the gulf between the two antagonistic parties.

Shah Wali Allah maintains that God created Nafs-i-Kul or the Collective or Universal Self (by 'ibda) from mere nothing and what we call universe is the differentiation of this Univeral Self. Or in other words, the Universal self differentiated itself by gradual descents into aflak, anasar, genus, species and individuals. If the sufi finds unity in diversity, it is nothing but the unity of the Nafsi Kul (and not of God). It is really difficult to explain the distinction between divine Being and the Nafsi Kul. Indeed, there is a unity in the Creator from nothing and the created from nothing. But that is not true unity, as one cannot be really identical with the other. The real fact is that the Human reason is not capable of understanding the idea of distinction between the Nafsi Kul and the Divine Being. It is due to this fact that most of the mystics have been misled by taking one for the other.[2]

"The relation between Divine Being and Nafsi Kul," argues Shah Wali Allah" is the same as is between digit 4 and digit 2. For instance, we look to digit 4 as it exists by itself, we find nothing there except 4 itself. But as we look a step below it, although in its present capacity nothing could be connected with we find 4 as the sum total of two *twos*. Thus, we see that 4 had two positions; one as a 4 and the other as two *twos*. In this way, if I say 2 plus 2 is 4, I shall be right; or 2 plus 2 is given the name four, I would be correct too.

"Here we will call 4 as the Creator or Maker and 2 and 2 as the created or made. Thus, if we call 4 as general and independent and 2 as particular and dependent and take no notice of mutual contradiction or clash, then two will be a mode or manifestation of 4 In the same way we can understand and explain the relation between dh'at-i-Ilahi (God) and Nafi-Kul.

2. Ilam 'at. 156.

(Universal soul). Now those who believe in the Wahdatul Wajud (Pantheism) would be correct if by unity they mean the unity of Nafsi Kul. The mystic must bear in mind that the relation of Dhat-i-Ilahi and Nafsi Kullia is not confused with the relation of Nafs Kullia and its modes. Otherwise he will be like a man who looks through red or green glasses and finds every thing red or green. A real mystic who looks by his insight, having left his reasoning power behind, will see the unity of Nafsi Kullia clearly in the diverse forms of the universe. But if he looks to Dhat-i-Ilahi with that insight (بصرت) the universe will altogether disappear. Again, if his insight is accompanied by the divine light (nazr-i-shamil) he will find this Nafsi-Kullia and Dhat-i-Ilahi two separate entities. But this state can be achieved by perfect sufis alone."[1]

In his first vision of the Fuyudul Haramayn Shah Wali Allah explains how the pantheists have failed to grasp the real nature of God owing to their immature faculties of the Nafs. The doctrine indeed is based on real facts but the sufis allowing themselves to wander into the valley of the nature of divine manifestation let the string of 'respect for the Lord'. 'Love for Him', and 'His transcendent and independent nature, slip from their hands—of course that is the string by which the angels have acquired their divine knowledge. In reality the secret of pantheism is understood by them who had their faculties of reason and wisdom fresh and fruitful, and not darkened by the veils, lying fold upon fold, of modes and forms of the world of matter.[2]

The main point in the discussion is that Shah Wali Allah unlike the common pantheists believe in the transcendent nature of Divinity, but at the same time he believes in His immanence, though in a way different from them. Explaining the identity of Wahdatul Wujud and Wahdatush Shuhud he writes in his letter written to Afandi Isma'il b. Abdullah of Madina: "Wahdatul Wujud and Wahdatush Shuhud are two relative terms used at two different places in an argument about the Divine Being. Wahdatul Wajud implies scrutiny of the encom-

1. Ibid 156 57.

2. Fuyud p 55 Vide also Anfaa. p. 43. Shah Abdur Rahim found a man (as he saw him in his vision who believed in Pentheism but without real approach to it, undergoing a heavy punishment after his death.

passing Truth which has filled the universe by unfolding itself with various values based on the knowledge of the Good and the Evil, and the Scripture and the reason ratify it. This is a stage of spiritual attainment where some mystics halted until they were relieved of it by God. Wahdatush Shuhud is bringing together of the values of similar and contradictory nature.

"One should know that the created things are one in one respect and different in another. This can only be perceived by the saints who are really perfect. This stage of Wahdatush Shuhud is definitely higher than the former one. The term actually was used by the disciples of Shaikh Adam Banauri as a term for the knowledge of truth about things as they exist Now some of the sufis saw the contingent or the accident connected with the eternal, also they perceived that the universe (forms of the universe) connected with the reality. This can be explained by an example of wax form of man, horse, etc. in which wax is common though in shape they are different. This is the belief of the real Pantheists. But the other group maintains that the universe is a reflection of Asma-o-Sifat (names and attributes) of the Necessary Being reflected in their *Ulm-i-Mutaqabila* or opposite non-beings. As these Asma-o Sifat which are power (qudrat) are reflected in the mirror of non-Being which is powerless the latter also becomes power contingent. In the same manner one can imagine the appearance of each of the Asma or Sifat and the Being. The first one is the Wahdatul Wujud and the second one Wahdatush Shudud. To me both are based on true revelations. Wahdatush Shuhud of Shaikh Ahmad does not in any way contradict, but on the other hand confirms Ibnal Arabi's Wahdatul Wujud."

"In short, if the real facts are taken into account and are studied without their garb of similies and metaphors, both the doctrines will appear almost the same. If there is any difference at all, it is so insignificant that a human reason or intuition cannot perceive it."[4 3]

3. Shaikh Adam Banansi was disciple of Shaikh Mujaddid and a very popular figure among the mystic community. In 1042 as he was visiting Lahore he was ordered by the Emperor Shahjahan to return to his native place. The Shaikh returned and left for the Hejaz where he died in 1043 A.H.

The synthesis of these two doctrines by Shah Wali Allah, was however not accepted by many of the eminent sufis of his time like Khwaja Mir Nasir, his son Khwaja Mir Muhammad, Maulvi Ghulam Yahya and Mirza Mazhar Jan Janan. Some of them wrote a reply to Shah Wali's explanations to which in turn Rafi'uddin gave a convincing reply. But the discussion was carried on in an extremely sober manner until it died down. Bearing in mind the great positions of Shah Wali Allah and Shaikh Ahmad, the later generations have kept quite silent over this controversy and have since never tried to revive it—which in a way has gone in favour of Shah Sahib's mission in general.

Shah Wali Allah's Chief mission in the field of theoretical and practical mysticism was to acquaint the real sufis with the nature of divine knowledge and the path which led towards it. He wanted also to explain the significance of *tariqat* and *Shariat* and the points from where they started and met again. The idea that shariat was no longer binding on the mystics had sufficiently gained ground and the ease loving persons, openly violated its laws. The reconciliation of various orders of the sufis who were engaged ceaselessly in mutual recrimation, was also before his mind. The followers of each order believed that the sufis of their own order were only the real ones. Such a claim in reality amounted to the denunciation of other orders of the sufis and disrespect to the path itself. The last but not the least impor. tant was the reconciliation of the two doctrines of Wahdatush Shuhud of Imam Rabbani of Sarhand and Wahadatul Wujud of Shaikh-i-Kabir Ibnal Arabi.

In his preachings and numerous writings Shah Sahib fulfilled his mission in a most successful manner. He referred all the controversial points to the Prophet himself and through his spiritual contact with him clarified them in unequivocal words. He proved by stating facts that *Shariaht* and *Tariqat* start from the same point and meet again somewhere at the place of perfection ; and that the sufis of various orders were genuine ones and were to be respected because they were the lovers of God. Their expressions, he believed, were different because of their varied religious experiences. Wahdatush Shuhud and Wahdatul Wujud concerning the nature of Reality were only the result of these different experiences.

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1. Tafhimat 56-57.
2. Vide Mujaddid's Conception etc. p. 102-1

PART II

SUMMARY

OF

HUJJATULLAHIL BALIGHAH

Religious Commands Based on Reason

It is wrong to believe that the commands in religion are merely an assertion of God's will ; as if they are given only to test the loyalty of the servants or to distinguish between the obedient and the dis-obedient ; and that they have no relation with the punishment and reward (jaza' wa saza'), But the fact is, as it is given in the Hadith and the Quran, that mere outward performance of actions is not needed ; what is needed is the good intention (preceding an action) and the good results (that will follow it).

Every command, therefore, has a special purpose or object before it. Prayer for instance has been made obligatory so that a man may establish a communicating link with his Creator and thereby may get His vision on the Day of Judgement. In the same way, there is a definite object of the pilgrimage, giving of alms, fasting, qisas (retribution) etc., etc.

The Prophet forbade 'buying and selling of a fruit garden before the fruit were ripe.' This order was not given merely out of fancy. It was done so, because the bargain was likely to create trouble in the society. Such explanations of the religious commands have been presented by Imam Ghazali, al Khattabi, Ibn 'Abdus Salam and a host of other great scholars.

The commands are indeed based on reason : but reason itself has no permission to interfere or tamper with any of them. They are to be obeyed without demur by every individual whether he understands or not the real motives or the purpose of every command. One must obey them as they are : because the vision of the Prophet was decidedly deep and higher than the vision of any of us, and his reason was illuminated by Divine revelation. It is like a medicine the real values of which are known only to the physician. If the sick person knows them, well and good ; but if he does not know, he should not any way

worry over it. In fact, if the medicine is used according to the instructions of the physician, he would be cured ; otherwise he would suffer and meet death.

Some learned men believe that to discuss the reasonable or unreasonable nature of the command is contrary to the Shariah. In their opinion the secrets of these commads are known only to God. It is true that in the time of the Prophet his friends did not care to know the inner motives of commands ; yet to make an attempt towards knowing them is not forbidden either. The Prophet is reported to have made only some introductory remarks about them ; but other learned men elaborating them further derived inferences. Of course it was with these inferences that these learned men could defeat the innovators in the religion (bid' at) in their mischievous arguments. So according to the opinion of Shah Wali Allah the explanation of the tenets of Islam would be necessary and quite useful.

It is therefore quite wrong to deny altogether this sort of reasoning or scholastic elucidations of the *ahkam* (commands), because it has many apparent advantages. For instance, the truth of the miracles of the Prophet can be verified and confirmed by it. The Quran is a literary miracle the like of which none could produce. But with the passage of time the actual nature of the miracle is lost into oblivion. It is therefore necessary to make things clear once again, so that the scepticism may be removed from the minds of the people. Again, by scholastic arguments the superiority of the Sharia'h of Muhammad over the Shari'i of other Prophets becomes quite clear. It also gives satisfaction and confidence to the believers, just as the Prohet Ibrahim had asked for a tangible proof (no doubt he believed in the omnipotence and creative power of God) to satisfy his heart.

If a person is aware of the benefits of the prescribed forms of worship, he would naturally be more enthusiastic over it than those who are igorant of them. It is due to this that Imam Ghazali has taken great pains to deal with the subject in an explicit manner.

Shah Wali Allah bases his arguments on his personal observations only. At places, he differs with the general outlook of the early muslim scholastistics. For instance, he has proved by quoting authentic Hadith of the Prophet and the Verses of

the Quran that God will appear on the Day of Judgement in various forms ; that there is non-physical world beside this physical one : and that there are ideal forms of all deeds etc., etc.

The fundamental principles of Islam are of two categories ;-

1. Those which are supported by Quran and Hadith.

2. Those which are not supported by Verses and Hadith.

In the premier category there are some principles (masa'il) which apparently appear to be contrary to reason. Some learned men have tried to bring them close to reason, while others have rejected them altogether. Thus the learned men in Islam are divided in their belief over these masa'il. But Shah Wali Allah puts his faith in all of them and proves by logical arguments the truth of every one of them.

The second category of the masa'il for the support of which there are no verses of the Quran and Hadith, such as the superiority of 'Ai'sha over Fatima, God's power to create without means, or rising up of the dead in the same physical form on the Day of Judgement etc., also caused a lot of controversy among the learned men. Some take these masa'il literally and others give them different other interpretations. Shah Wali Allah, in this case, adopts the surest and firm straight course, lying between the two.

It should be known that Shah Wali Allah has explained the truth of the principles of Shari'ah in two separate discussions the one deals with the ethical aspect (*i.e.* Good and Evil deeds) of the Shari'ah and the other social and political. The truth about the Good and the Evil (Khair wa Sharr) can be understood after grasping the sense of the Punishment and Reward ('saza wa jaza') of the sins and virtues and causes of development of the means of life.

Shah Wali Allah takes up the discussion only of these masa'il whose clarification is absolutely necessary and have not so for been dealt with in an elaborate manner by other scholars. He explains the rewards and punishments which appear in this life as well as in the life after-death. He also discusses the sociological developments alongwith their actual

processes and so on.

In the second part of the book Shah Wali Allah has arranged the Hadith (traditions) of Prophet concerning 'Faith, Knowledge, Purity etc., etc., and has made the sense of each of them clear. It is only first part which is important for our purpose, though the help of the second part has duly availed of for emphasising the agruments of the thesis. In fact, the second part is extremely valuable for the students of Hadith (as it is an authentic collection but as for the subject matter, it considerably overlaps the first part.

HUJJATULLAHIL BALIGHAH

(First Discussion)

1. Creation, its adjustment and guidance :

In regard to manifestation of the universe, four important attributes of God viz., 'Ibda'. *Khalıq*, Tadbir, and Tadalli are exclusively reponsible for it 'Ibda' is the power to create anything from nothing (as the creation of *Shaikhs-i-Akbar*), *Khalq* is the creation of any thing from a thing already created, as the creation of Adam from clay ; Tadbir is to arrange certain qualities or properties in things and adjust them in the system of life. (A Tadalli is guidance of things for attention towards the creater).

The Prophet had said there was nothing there before the creation of the universe excepting the Lord Himself. At first Shaikhs-i Akbar was created by 'Ibda and then by Takhliq it was allowed to descend and differentiate in a systematic order into various genera and innumerable spaces. Then all the species were given qualities special to each one of them. He granted to human beings an upright form, a smooth body the power of speech and the faculty of understanding. To the

1 Vide Also Fuyudu' Haramaynp. 255. Takhliq Virtually means bringing together certain elements and giving a shape to them so that a new thing may come into existence. The shape or form granted to them is always the one which suits their quality and quantity. It may have a human, animal or any other form in the chain of creation appearance of one thing becomes the cause of appearance of another and both of them exist in the same order there in the Universal Nature (Tabi'at-i-Kullia).

horses he gave hairy and horizontal form, made them walk on four legs and neigh in a peculiar way. In the same way, the vegetables and minerals have been given qualities which are special to each of them. It is however the will of God that none of these qualities or properties should quit any of them.

In fact any of the qualities of the three Kingdoms of Nature, Minerals, Vegetation, Animal (Mawalid-i-*Thalatha*) are not allowed to quit them. But if some conflicting qualities join together at one place, some new things come into existence which consist of substance (jauhar) and accident ('ared) or anything else. In reality, the accidents are the intentions or actions of the animate things.

As a matter of fact there is nothing unusual with the effects because they never come into existence without the regular causes When the causes are there the effects must also be there Thus if we judge the values of the causes according to this formula, all will appear good For instance, the quality of the iron is to cut which is not bad anyway. But when it is applied to cutting human beings it becomes a bad cause which is not liked by the Divine Tadbir. If such causes meet together then the Tadbir changes the quality of the thing concerned. The fire into which the Prophet Ibrahim was thrown did not burn him, although there were the smoke, flames, everything. Also, it is said the Sword of the Anti-Christ will not hurt the faithful, although it would be of sharp iron. The water of the spring in which the Prophet Ayyub washed his wounds was given the properties suited to the cure of the disease.

2. Sphere of Similitude (عالم مثل) :

There are a number of apostlic traditions which if taken in the literal sense lead one to presume the existence of a non physical world where *things* before they appear in our physical world take up an ideal form just suitable for their individual nature or quality.

In fact there are many such things which have no physical forms and are therefore not visible to the human eye, yet they are said to be moving about, coming down or going up. For instance, it is said that the Suras of Al-Baqara and Al'Imran (second and third chapters of the Holy Quran) will appear like two clouds or flights of birds protecting their patrons against

the instance heat of the Doomsday sun. In the same way, the actions of a man such as prayer, charity, pilgrimage etc., will come to his help on that day against any difficulty.

Or the Prophet has said that God will make the days take up physical forms according to their individual nature-Friday for instance will appear in a bright and lusterous form. Also the Prophet is reported to have said that he saw 'the disturbances (fitan) coming down upon the houses of the companions, like showers of rain. In the hadith concerning the eclipse it is mentioned that paradise and hell appeared to the Prophet. Or according to another version 'they took a tangible form between himself and the wall of Ka'aba. In the same hadith the Prophet says "I stretched my hand to pluck a bunch of the fruit of paradise, but drew it back as I felt the heat of the fire."

It is also reported on the authority of the Prophet that supplication can stop *'coming down of troubles'* (upon any one). "God created *Reason* and asked it to *come forward*, which it did and then He asked it to *get back* which was done too. The Prophet then said both the things were written in the book of fate (Taqdir). It is reported that the grave expands up to the extent of seventy yards or becomes so narrow that the ribs of the dead are pressed into one another. The angels beat the evil persons with the maces so severely that the cries of them could be heard in the east and the west by all except human beings and animals. Or ninety nine snakes are appointed to punish an evil person in the grave which shall continue to bite him till the day of Judgment.

The Ahadith (traditions) quoted above lead one to believe that there exists an ideal world ('Alam ul-*Mithal*) or the world of similitude by the side of our physical world. In fact the study of these traditions is likely to create one of the following three impressions : 1. If they are taken in the literal sense as many learned scholars like Jalaluddin Suyuti (d. 1505 A. D.) do, one must necessarily believe in the existence of such an ideal world 2 Or one might see all the things mentioned in the traditions with his own eyes, although they may not be seen by others. This is the opinion of 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud. 3. Or the traditions may be taken in an allegorical sense. But the fact is that the last interpretation is not approved of by any traditionist.

Imam Ghazali has explained the tradition concerning the punishment in the grave in the above two ways. According to him, all the traditions about the punishment in the grave carry only literal sense, which however is known to the scholars who possess thorough insight into the thing. Of course those who are ignorant of these secrets may reject the literal sense of it.

If any one questions the truth of the statement that 'none has ever seen the infidels being beaten with the maces' (and to believe in things unseen is meaningless) the answer is that the persons suffer the punishment after death indeed, but the human eyes can not see it. That is the affair of the world of Spirit rather than of Matter. The companions of the Prophet did not see the angel Gabriel as he came to the Prophet and talked with him. Just as they did not see the angel, in the same way one can not see the snakes and scorpions engaged in punishing the infidels.

The second explanation would be like this. A man dreams in his sleep as if he has been bitten by a snake or a scorpion and thereby he experiences the pangs of a true snake-bite, although no physical snake is there about. When punishment means pain of a snake bite, it is immaterial whether the snake is physical or non-physical.

The third explanation is that it is only the poison which gives pain not the snake himself. If anything else produces the same pain the purpose of the punishment is served. But the punishment however would be named after the category of the means adopted. For instance, in this case, it would be called the 'snake-bit punishment'. The pain suffered at the time of death or in the grave is of this nature *i.e.*, the physical snakes or scorpions are not there. The corpses are made to suffer through non-physical means

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1. Shah Wali Allah in his works occasionally refers to this ideal world which he believes is quite easy to be contacted by a man of pure vision that is, the man whose Superior Soul is not dominated by its bestial faculty, can see that world as he sees the physical world.

   According to him the Ideal world does not lie somewhere above at a spatial distance. The difference is not of distance but of quality. We can take it just within this world of Perception and close to the hearts of divinely inspired persons. (Cf Iqbal : Heaven and Hell are states, not realities-Religious Reconstructional p 116).

3. Mal'a-i-a'La (The Sphere of souls or angels) :

Shah Wali Allah divides the creation into three spheres viz., the Sphere of Soul, the Sphere of Similitude, and the Sphere of Matter. The sphere lying close to the Absolute Reality (or Abstract or Tajarrad) is known as the Sphere of Soul, and that which is farthest from it is called the Sphere of Matter. The Souls who inhabit the first sphere are called "Mal-a-i-A'la (the higher group)" in respect of their relation with the Divine Being and purity of nature.

Angels as mentioned in the Quran are the creation of God appointed to remain close to Him, supporting His 'Arsh (Pavilion). Their main occupation is to praise Him and pray for forgiveness of the believers-in-Him and for the safety of them from Hell fire.

As God decides on anything the decision is reflected into the angels around the Arsh From there it is communicated to the angels of the earth who act according to the Will of God. For instance, if God wants to make any of his *servants* favourite, the idea is passed on to the angels from where it goes to the angels of the earth. The angels reflect the idea into the hearts of human beings. Thus the person in question becomes favourite of angels and human beings. It is said that the angels descend upon the people doing worship of God and bless them with the favours of the Almighty. They also curse those who do evil. Thus the angels are a kind of communicating link between God and human beings.

The angels are of three kinds :

1. The angels who are created from the divine light as it was the fire of Moses.[2] They are as a rule for the good of the Universe.

2. The angels who are created from the refined essence of the elements of nature, who by their connections with the angels of the first grade become purified of all the earthly impurities.

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1. Vide Sat'at p. 35. A group of angels who stand higher in position than others of the Hazifatual Qudus (Encirclement of Purity, are known as "Supporters of the 'Arsh. Next to that group in position is another group of angels who are called as (H[illegible]ra haul'al 'Arsh —— ——).
2. Vide Sura.

3. The human souls which by some purification process acquire the qualities of the angels become one with them in every detail. The Prophet is reported to have seen Ja'afar bin Abi T'alib flying with the bi-winged angels.

The angels created from the light are entrusted with the task of keeping the system of life regular; they eliminate at once any irregularities which happen to creep into it. The light of these angels forming a compact whole enters a multifaced and multitongued form called *'Hazhratul Qudus'* or Encirclement of Purity or Divine Fold. In this Encirclement the affairs of Human Guidance are shaped and sent to the earth. The Prophets, saints or revivers of the faith are singled out for the purpose of guidance and their periods of appearance are fixed there and the nature of their work is also specified. The angels support these guides in their work and help them to show miracles if necessary. They are therefore named as Ta'id-u-Ruhil Qudus or Support of the Spirit of Purity.

Inferior to them in rank are the angels of the earth. They are virtually the spirits through whose "grace (faidan) fine vapours attain temperate mood". They are mortal in respect of their personal ideas, but immortal in respect of the revelations they receive from the Encirclement of Purity. They have the power to influence the hearts of men (as well as beasts) in accordance with the will of God. As the fisherman throws his net into river, the angels of the earth persuade the fish to get into it. At the time of war they help a party of the belligerents to win and the other to lose.

Besides the angels meant for good work, there are other imperceptible evil spirits created from the dark vapours. They are the satans (Shi'atin) whose efforts are mainly directed to nullify the good work of the angels.

4. Eternal Law of God :

It is a fact supported by reason as well as Shari'ah that acts of nature are regulated by the capacities and characteristics of things God created in them. The form of Adam was made

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1. Encirclement of Purity is really the centre for the entire system of the universe. The will of God which shapes things is at first reflected into it and then the means are adopted to put it into practice. The saints with pious souls contact this Encirclement and become aware of the events to be.

from clay collected from various tracts and lands. That is now manifested in the progeny of Adam in diversity of colours and temperaments. These forces or capacities are in fact responsible for all the *events* which take place in the world. Birth of a child, death of a person, growth of a plant, all are governed by the same forces.

These forces which actually form the eternal Law of God are of various natures. The most important of them are the properties of the elements (an'asar) the specific qualities of each species, the conditions prevailing at the moment in the Sphere of Similitude, the blessings or curses of the angels and then ahkam or commands of the Shari'ah which determine punishment or reward for action.

The law normally works like this. When God fixes up a thing, its existence is made dependent on another thing For instance, if God wills that such and such person should die at a particular place, the arrangements for his coming to that place are at once completed. The death however is fixed if the exigency may demand it.

If several causes meet together, then it is the will of God, that only the one which is likely to prove good for the world is allowed to materialise This refers to the words of the Prophet "God has a balance in hand, of which he lifts sometimes one pan, and sometimes the other".

Preference in regard to the occurrence of the events is sometimes given to the cause and other time to the effect, whichever is better for the world. An event is also allowed to occur for its precedence in the matter of creation (bab-i-khalq) over the universal plan (bab-i-Tadbir)

It is really difficult for us to know all the values of the causes when they join together at a place, and we cannot Judge which of them could be preferable. But still we know it for certain that when anything has happened, it has happened just because there was no other alternative. He who looks into this fact carefully, will in fact be relieved of the doubts and suspicions regarding the happening of the events.

As for the effects of the stars in the affairs of the life of this world, some really exist. For instance, the stars are responsi-

[illegible]ble for the change of sessions, variations of day and night, and ebbs and tides of the oceans. But they have no concern with the prosperity and adversity of the human beings. It is for this reason that the Prophet Muhammad forbade his followers from learning and practising Astrology. He dubbed this science as a part of Magic.[1] In this connection it may be mentioned that the Prophet also forbade the art of divining by which the people try to learn the future. The fact is that as the angels of heaven relate some heavenly decisions to the angels of the earth, a word or two are picked up by the jinns and devils, which they distort and adding some mischievous elements to it communicate the whole to the diviners. Thus the truth mixed with falsehood gets currency among the people.

5. The Soul or Ruh :

The Holy Quran refers to the Soul as a subject rather of a very difficult nature. The learned men have therefore avoided to enter into any discussion about it. But that does not mean that such learned men were ignorant of the nature of the soul. They understood it fairly well. Their silence over the matter was on purpose because they feared higher metaphysical explanation of the soul would only embarrass the unripe and underdeveloped minds. It would have also led the ignorant people to scepticism.

It is known to almost every human being that 'the Soul' is a cause for life of an animal. That is, an animal without the soul is dead and lifeless. A little reflection into this fact will reveal that a body dead is devoid of 'a fine steam originating in the heart from the synthesis of the four humours (*akhlat*), carrying with it all the perceptive, stimulating and reasoning or understanding powers of the body.

Life of the animal is dependent on this steam and its thinness or thickness directly affects its system. This steam is called the Nasma (Animal Soul or the Soul of the lower degree). It exists in the body as fire in the ember or rose-water in the rose (ورد). It has the quality to grow with the advance of

1. Vide Fu'ud, p. 260. It happens sometimes that if the of birth child takes place at a time when the Sun is with saturn (Zuhl) and jupiter [illegible], in the same Zodiac, he becomes of good character and [illegible].

age of the animal or the man. It is small in a child, but grows bigger as he becomes older.

Besides this Nasma, there is another soul (Ruh-i-Haqiqi, Nafsi Natiqa or Superior Soul), a gift of God granted to human beings alone. The special future of this soul is that it remains unchanged throughout one's life. It is really the *Inner self* of a man which *remains uninfluenced* by any change in the inferior soul.

This Superior Soul or Nafsi Natiqa is linked with the physical body of the human beings by the above mentioned Inferior Soul or Nasma. Now Nafsi Natiqa is a point of light which in nature is different from the variegated reflection of Jauhar (substance) and 'arad (accident). It is really a window through which a man can communicate with the Sphere of Purity ('Alam-i-Qudus). It descends upon a man when his Nasma is strong enough to keep its link with the body.

As by constant ailment the body of a man becomes too week to supply energy to the Nasma, death takes place. But with this the Nasma is not totally dissolved. A part of it remains there still connected with the Nafsi Natiqa[2], and with the help of it gets a new life in the sphere of the grave (called

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1. Vide for Nasma or Animal soul also
   Ham'at : p. 199. and p. 220.
   Al-Badarul Bazigha : p. 34.
   Hujjat Pt. II. p. 213.

   Nasma has three chief centres *viz.*, Heart, Head and Liver. The Heart controls the emotions, the head analyses and preserves the sense of the perceived things. It also has the power of thinking and imaginating (Quwwat-i-Mutawahma wa Mutakhayyala). The liver controls the instinctive urges and is the animal self of the man. Nasma besides the other five perceptive senses, has a common sense by which it can know the things without feeling or touching or hearing. This is an important force of the Inferior Soul which runs through it from end to end.

2. Vide for Nafsi Natiqa :
   Ha'mat p. 199.

   Nafsi Natiqa is really (the reflection of) the Universal Soul in the heart of man. It has two aspects, the one turned towards the Nasma and the other towards the Sphere of Soul. These two aspects in reality are two forces, bestial and angelic, which either pull in different directions or cooperate with one another. The men differ in their actions because of the difference in their Nafsi-Natiqa's bestial and angelic qualities.

Barzakh), and the qualities of it which are acquired through common sense (Hissi Mushtrak) become strengthened. In the World of Similitude the Inferior Soul gets covered up with light or darkness as the case may be. On the Day of Judgement this soul will reappear in this material form or in a form having both ideal and material qualities.

6. **The Secret of Responsibility :**

The verse runs : "We presented a trust to heavens and the earth and the mountains but they wished to be excused of it. But the man accepted it ; look how ignorant and unjust he has been". Imam Ghazali and Imam Baidawi interpret this 'Trust' (Amanat) in the sense of *Responsibility*. It was entrusted to man because he possessed the power and capacity to bear it. In fact, one can be dubbed as Za'lim (unjust) if he has the capacity to be 'adil (just), and as ignorant if he has the power to know the required thing.

There are certain *things* which are 'Alim and 'Adil (Knowing and Just) by nature and habit, and there is no possibility of their becoming ignorant or unjust. There are still other things which are ignorant and unjust by nature and habit and they cannot become otherwise. The angels belong to the first category and the beasts to the second, But the responsibility can be entrusted to one who is perfect by capacity and not by action. (من کان له کمال بالقوة لا بالفعل).

The truth of this fact can be judged from the state of the angels who are not interfered by their emotions or instinctive extremes. They always wait for the revelation from the Higher Heaven, and as it is received they act according to it without any demur. In this case there is no possibility of going outside the established order. Just opposite to this, there is the state of the beasts which are always lost in the fulfilment of their mean instinctive desires. They behave in this way because they cannot do otherwise. But human beings on the other hand have been endowed with the qualities belonging to both of these spheres, which are sometimes cooperative and sometimes running counter to one another.

God, as a matter of fact, is specially interested in maintaining the order of the universe. He grants extra force to any capacity of the human beings, innate or acquired, whenever he tries to get it. If any one wants to intensify animal instincts recieves natural support for it, and all things leading to its success become easy for him. The same process is needed also in the acquisition or enhancement of the force of angelic qualities.

But it is the law of nature, that for every act there should be a reward or punishment (pleasure or pain) as an automatic consequence. Pleasure is the realisation of an appropriate state in the Nafs and pain is just the reverse of it. That is, a man feels pain when anything unnatural interferes with the natural state of the Nafs. The condition of a man who does not actually feel any pain in this life (on the contrary he may feel satisfied at his unnatural vices) is just like the one who has taken some soporific substance and becomes unconscious of his self. He cannot feel the pang of the burns of fire unless he has regained consciousness.

From the above discussion we conclude that man has been entrusted with the responsibility because he is specifically fit for it. He stands midway between the beasts and the angels and has the option to go up or fall down. In his heart of hearts he feels an urge to know the truth of Absolute Reality and sway over other spheres. For the satisfaction of this urge he prays to God for help and guidance.

7 Responsibility Predetermined :

A little reflection into the acts of God can easily lead us to understand the reason why He has fixed Sharī'ah (Devine Code of Laws, to determine human actions.

God has given a particular shape, form and taste to the trunk, leaves and fruit of a tree by which it can be distinguished from the other species of the sphere of vegetation. The special form of each species does not quit them as long as they exist. It means that plants obey a fixed law of God. The same is the case with the minerals. Each of its species exists in its own sphere and obeys the same law of nature. In the same way, the beasts have their own sphere of existence. They have been given the power of movement because they cannot get food for

their growth by standing at a place like plants which have their roots inside the earth and absorb from it necessary elements to feed its trunk and branches. The beasts have also been revealed with certain mode of life different for each species. The mode of life for each species is exactly the one which was most suitable for it.

Among the individuals of a species too there exist certain natural differences owing to the variety of capacity and circumstances. For instance, the queen of the bees lives in the way different from the other bees, and the parrot when educated can imitate the voice of man.

We now come to the mankind. In this sphere we find all what is there in the plants and the beasts. But a man possesses many things more. He can speak, understand the speeches of others and acquire knowledge by arranging certain facts together. The distinguished features of the mankind can be summed up as follows :

1. **Intellectual Power.** Human beings are endowed with an intellectual capacity with which they acquire knowledge concerning :

(*a*) the affairs of the world. By this they understand the difficulties which cross their path of life and invent means to remove them. For instance as they found that the means of subsistence were not regular they grew crops, stored grains in a place, made social laws for mutual co-operation. By united efforts they harnessed the forces of nature and used them for their benefit.

(*b*) affairs concerning the metaphysical sphere. But such a knowledge is only granted to human beings through revelations.

2 **Capacity of action** This power or capacity too functions in two ways.

(*a*) Intentional act. That is, human beings possess the power of doing anything by their will or intention. The actions or movements of the animals are automatic and have no guidance from their inner soul. That is to say, as they act, their action does not produce any effect on their self. But the case of the

human beings is different. As they act, the soul or the spirit of their actions hangs permanently about their Nafs strengthening the faculty which has prompted the action. Thus if the action is good, the Nafs gradually becomes enlightened. But if the acts are evil, the Nafs becomes darkened.

(*b*) Human beings also possess the capacity to know or understand the secrets of the Sphere of the Soul Sometimes they actually contact the sphere after having passed through many (states or) stages of spiritualism.

In fact it is true, human perfection is made dependent on the proper use of the Intellectual and Practical powers given to him. It is for this reason, that God reveals through some men of higher intellect and greater practical power the means of acquiring perfection. The Shariahs (Divine Codes of Laws introduced by the Prophets which also include the knowledge of the Attributes of God, and the "knowledge of Worship)", is a regular means of human perfection

Now it has become clear, that a man had been called upon to obey certain commands (Taklif or responsibility) because that was quite indispensable for the maintenance of his life. That is very much like taking or eating grass which is indispensable for the existence of an animal like sheep. That is as grass keeps sheep alive in the same way obedience to Shari'ah is necessary for the life of a human being.

8. Reward and Punishment as Essential Features of Responsibility.

It has been stated in the foregoing chapters, that animals and human beings have different modes of life according to which they must act. But in case they happen to go against the established rules of life, it is quite natural that some untoward consequences will follow which are not in their power to avoid.

The consequences which follow the act of interference with the natural course of life are of various categories. The first is the personal or specific effect of the act. If

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1. تکلیف۔

a sheep begins to live on flesh instead of grass, some sort of physical disorder will result from it. In the same way, a man's physical and mental condition remains healthy if he acts against these tendencies, a disorder will ensue the effect of which would be felt by him as the touch of an ember results in burns of his hand.

As for an act whether good or evil, its repercussions are felt in the Sphere of Angels, and they are pleased or displeased accordingly. The angels are in fact meant for the good of the people of the earth, so their pleasure or displeasure is reflected back into the *Nafs* of the doer and fills it with light or darkness as the case may be. It can be explained further thus. As our foot falls on a burning coal, our perceptive power or faculty (quwati idrakia) makes us feel the effect of the acts. The light or darkness of the act is also reflected in the hearts of other people and they behave as the angels do with the doer of the act.

The third form of reward and punishment is fixed by the Divine Code of Law (Shariah) which will take place either in this world or the next (After-death). The actions done according to or against the Shariah also produce a reaction in the Sphere of Angels and they bless the man or curse him according to the nature of the action.

The fourth and the last form of reward and punishment is determined by the blessings or curses of the Prophet inspired by obeying or disobeying him. When a Prophet comes to the people-Prophets in fact are the human form of the Divine Guidance - his obedience is made essential for all. Hence, the disobedient are awarded punishment.

The first two forms of reward and punishment are natural and take their own course uninterrupted, because the course set up by God brooks no delay or change. It must follow under all states and circumstances. As for the third, it changes with the time. One thing was good in the time of one prophet but in the time of the other Prophet it was declared bad, and with that the effect of the act also changed. The fourth, concerning the advent of the Prophet, is compared to the man who informs the people about an invading army, ready to fall upon them.

Those who took measures to face it were saved and the others who paid no heed to his words suffered annihilation.

9. Moral and Spiritual Attainments Vary according to the Individual Capacity.

In the words of the holy Prophet, it would be nearer the truth if we hear that a mountain shifted from its site than that the man changed his nature. Every man acts according to his natural faculties and his acquisitions are invariably governed by them.

It is a well-known fact that every human-being is born with two potent faculties . Angelic and Bestial. The Angelic faculty imbued with divine names and attributes (Asma-e-Sifat) and through it one can contact the angels of high and low spheres. Through it one can get success in his spritual, ethical and social affairs.

The Animal or Bestial faculty is mainly connected with the affairs of the physical word. In its nature it is just the reverse of the angelic faculty.

Now, in human beings these faculties are of varied degree and every one behaves according to the dictates of the one more powerful than the other. In some persons as we fined the angelic faculty is predominent ; they are spritualists by nature. In the others there is the bestial faculty more powerful such persons are prone to be more inclined towards worldly matters rather than spiritual and occasionally behave in the manner of unscrupulous beasts. In between these two extremes there lie other grades or categories of human being. By rough calculations, the whole lot can be classified into eight sections or categories. The first four are known as the "*People of Harmony*" (Ar-babul Istilah). They are the people whose angelic and bestial faculties, whether strong or weak, support one another and are in complete concord with one another. The other four called "the People of Discord" (Arbabul Taj'adhub), are those whose faculties pull in different directions.

Four sections of the People of Harmony can be described thus :

Sec. 1. The people whose both faculties are strong.

2. ... whose angelic faculty is strong and bestial weak.

3. ... Whose angelic faculty is weak and bestial strong.

4. ... whose both angelic and bestial faculties are weak.

The other four sections of the Arbabul Tajadhab have the similar faculties but in each section one is antagonistic to the other.

The people belonging to the group of *Jadhb* have to undergo hardships (riadat) in order to tame the revolting bestial faculty, and to bring it in line with the angelic faculty.

Every man's physical and spiritual attainments are dependent upon these natural faculties. These faculties govern his moral outlook and behaviour. For instance, a man with a strong bestial faculty is always wild or courageous, can dash into difficult situations without hesitation. But the one with a weak bestial faculty is invariably timid and incapable of holy wars. His achievements in the physical world are minor and insignificant.

10 Source of Ideas or Intentions which direct Actions :

Intentions or Ideas (Khawatir) which prompt actions of a man have their origin in the Nafs or Inner Self as it is fully described in the foregoing chapter. In fact, the physical state described in the man also plays an important part in the creation of them. For instance, a thirsty person would naturally think about water or the possible means of quenching his thirst ; and a sex-starved person would always dream about the other sex. It has been proved by experience that diet also influences the mind and arouses thoughts in accordance with the effect of the food stuff. Some people on account of special diet become stone-hearted, and begin to behave in a

1. Vide for details Ham'at pp. 197-215. These faculties are in reality the aspects of the Nafs-i-Natiqa which is (the reflection of) the Universal Soul in man.

wild manner, going as for as perpetration of heinous crimes. There are others who by change of diet, or by growing old or by a prolonged illness are softened down, become mild and behave politely.

Habits and sentiments also give a special trend to the ideas or thoughts of a person. A man attached to a thing is thrilled mentally by its associations It happens that by certain changes in the habits the Inner Self (Nafs Natiqa) of a person gets liberated from the clutches of the powerful bestial faculty, and thereby it receives the heavenly light which gives him in the long run a kind of mental satisfaction and strength of will. It also happens that man of mean nature or disposition fall prey to the designs of the devil and their thoughts and intentions, and thereafter their actions, become imbued with devilish spirit.

Dreams also like the ideas and thoughts of men are influenced by the physical states. The dreams actually are the symbolic forms of the impressions of the Nafsi Natiqa received by it from good or bad actions. (They are sometimes simple nightmares or divine revelations).

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11. Effects of Actions on the Nafs :

Actions or deeds of a man once executed leave their lasting impressions on the Soul (Nafsi Natiqa)[1]. The idea for doing anything originates in the Nafs, a centre of bestial and angelic proclivities, and after they are done they return to the soul carrying with it a great force for resurgence of the same idea and larger capacity for doing the same act again. For instance, a child of delicate nature, usually imbibes feminine habits, such as wearing women's dress, talking in a peculiar manner and avoiding hard work. His early involuntary acts will be confirmed in his soul and determine his life afterwards.

In short, each act however small or insignificant leaves its effect on the soul. The tradition of the Prophet "Evil (impres-

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3. Vide the verse : Wa kullal Insanin alzamnaho tairohu fi'unoqihi ! That is, "As for the doings of every one, we put them upon his neck——".

وكل الانسان الزمناه طائره فى عنقه

sions) weave warp and woof around the soal like a mat" corroborates this statement.

The soul or the Nafs descends upon the man before his birth as the Nasma is sufficiently strong to keep its link with the body, in a pure and untained state But afterwards, the impressions of the acts begin to cover it until it is completely lost in them. Of these impressions there appears a collective force in the Nafs affecting the general trend of activities. But at the same time each impression retains its original state or force for attracting more such impressions through similar action. In fact, they remain in their original state even though the real cause for them is weakened or obliterated. In an old man or one suffering from a prolonged illness, the capacity for action goes away, but the desire for them still lingers.

These impressions unless of extremely vicious nature as mentioned in the Shariah are not altogether indelible. But however some efforts are needed to remove them. Constant good deeds happen to remove the effects of bad ones (evil impressions) from the Nafs.

In the world of Similitude each person has a particular form which is connected with him as soon as he comes to the physical world. Now, the impressions of the Soul of a man also effect his ideal form in the world of Similitude That is in a way the record of man's deeds. As the day of Judgment comes, it will be checked. Each impressions will be called upon to give [illegible] account of its form of appearance and existence.

Imam Ghazali has asserted that everything what was to happen upon the universe from the beginning of the creation upto the end of it has been recorded in a separate 'Book' called Lauh-um-Mahfuz or Imam-um Mubin. This fact can be explained in the same way as the above impression of the Nafs. The Lauh is not actually a tablet of wood or stone or book of paper or parchment ; but it is very much like the record of the impressions of the ideal form of the man or like the preservation of the holy Quran in the mind of a person The same discussion is contained in the next chapter also

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12. Actions' Relation with Faculties of the Soul :

Actions of a person are the exponents of his Nafs's faculties or states (إن الأعمال مظاهر الهيئات النفسانية) and the relation between the two are unbreakably strong. Nafs as a matter of fact is a collection of desires which always look for an opportunity to be fulfilled. If any deed is performed according to the desire of the Nafs, it feels happy. But on the other hand if anything is done contrary to its wishes, it becomes irritated.

As an act is done, its source in the Nafs, angelic or bestial, becomes strengthened and as a result of it its opponent gets weak. The source thus strengthened would desire quick and continuous physical expression, developing into regular habits and a part of man's morals. It is for this reason that creation of such habits (like bravery or generosity) need regular physical actions, difficult and generous.

The Nafs in their potential resources are not similar in all cases, nor do they receive equal impression of good and evil—deeds. Some are exceptionally sharp to understand the consequences of all the deeds. The weak Nafs on the other hand, cares for the actions or deeds only, rather than their consequences Such people are more numerous than the former class. It is for this reason that the Divine Code of Law is sent that the common people may know the exact values of all the actions and deeds and may behave according to it.

There are of course certain other actions which are determined by the angels of the *Higher Heaven*. The will and capacity for actions of a person has nothing to do with it. The determinant of actions such as the guidance of human beings is revealed to the selected few only.

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13 Ways of Reward and Punishment :[1]

There are numerous ways by which a man is punished or rewarded for his bad or good deeds. But they are, in general terms, subordinate to two factors :—

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1. Vide also Chat. 8 "Reward and Punishment, Essential features of Responsibility."

(1) Condemnation by the Nafs or Self of the doer or approval by it (if it is good).

(2) Condemnation or approval by the Haziratul Qudus (Encirclement of Purity).

If a sensible person happens to do an evil thing his angelic self will condemn him all the time, making him feel extremely distressed. Even in dreams the pin pricks of it will continue to disturb him a good deal. The verse of the Quran "Those who do evil deeds are covered by them ; so they are dwellers of Hell and will abide there for ever" refers to this perpetual condemnation of the Nafs.

The second way of punishment or reward is the approval or disapproval of an act by the angels of Higher Heaven A doer of good deed receives their blessings and that of bad deed their curse and they pray to the Almighty for or against him. The result of this prayer of the angels manifests itself in the form of prosperity or adversity for the doer. The evil doers get nothing but infamy and distress. They are the revolters against God. As they die in that state of revolt without having repented for their evils, they will suffer a perpetual curse of the Lord and His angels. (Al-Quran).

Sometimes both of these categories of punishment are united together and fall upon the men who sin. The former ensues from those acts which mostly concern with the development of the self or the Nafs. A dullard or a person with a weak Nafs not susceptible to outward effect remains unmoved and does not become aware of curses or anything else. The angelic self of such a person becomes completely swayed by the animal self and the former does not find any facility or power to condemn the evil deeds. In such cases the punishment is postponed until death. In the same way in certain cases the punishment of the second category too is postponed until after death. But it must be understood that such actions are postponed only because the system of life needed its—postponement. That is to say a speedy punishment would have interfered with certain ways of life which the Almighty God wants to remain intact.

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2. Sura Al-Baqra—81.

بلی من کسب سیئة و احاطت بہ خطیئتہ فاولئک اصحاب النار ھم فیھا خالدون :

SECOND DISCUSSION

* * * STATE OF REWARDS IN LIFE AND AFTER DEATH

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14. Rewards of deeds in life :—

According to the verse of the Quran "Whatever befalls you upon this earth is because of your own deeds" every man himself is responsible for his comforts and difficulties. The fact is that a punishment is an essential feature of an evil deed. But after the punishment has been meted out and one has borne the difficulties once, one gets cleared of the sins just as a piece of iron when placed in a furnace gets cleared of its impurities.

A careful scrutiny of the system of life discloses the fact that God does not let any deed go unrewarded. In case there are no apparent means available (or the order of things of life does not permit any physical reward) some arrangements are made for some secret or spiritual gifts In reality the preservance of the system of life is of primary importance, so much so that God does not allow any quick changes into it.

If a man of good nature happens to commit any evil 'he is at first reprimanded and let off ! His state is like a tender plant which sways to and fro before the wind, and it regains its original position as the storm is passed. This is also like drinking of a bitter dose of medicine by a sick man. The dose gives trouble but it removes the source of trouble. But behaviour of an adamant sinner is like the plant which stands firm before the wind until it is uprooted and blown away.

In the land where the people under the influence of a devilish creature become imbued with the spirit of vice, the punishment always descends after a careful warning given to them through a Prophet or a messenger. A people or nation is not annihilated just for the sake of a few sins or a few sinners.

(The ways of awarding punishment and bestowing rewards are given in the previous chapter).

5 Truth about Death. Its Consequences :

Things of the earth (Beings of the void or Ka'inatul Jaww) are composed of elements. Their individual characteristics or qualities are the synthesis of the characteristics or qualities of the elements they are composed. In fact all of them belong individually to their own particular sphere (of Fossils, vegetation or animal) and preserve their specific qualities. They continuously absorb the elements for their existence and perfection in their specific sphere. The synthesis of the characteristics of the elements is preserved in the Nasma or the animal soul. Now, the term death means disintergration of the elements of the body. With disintegration of the body the creation of the live steam called Nasma is stopped and thereby the link between body and the soul is broken. In human being there is one thing more which does not belong to the World of Elements—that is his *Nafsi Natiqa*. Nafsi Natiqa is closely connected with the Nasma. But death does not effect his non-material Nafs. Nay, even the Nasma (a certain part of it) remains stuck to it after the man is dead and buried. It is just for this reason (already given in details in the previous chapter) a person can be approached spiritually in the Sphere of the Grave.

The fact is that the Matter is of two kinds : Independent and Dependent (M'adah bil Dh'at and M'adah bil 'Arad). Dependent matter is his body which disintegrates with the earth. But Nasma is the M'adah or matter Independent and it keeps connected with the Nafs. This can be compared to an expert copyist whose hands even though cut off retain still the capacity for the art of writing.

The people in respect of their general habits are either "[illegible]" or "Sleepy". The former class possesses a penetrating insight into the reality of *things* and can know without difficulty the unity in diverse forms. The latter class always feels inclined towards diversity and cares but very little for unity. The habits and morals of both the classes are different from one another. One's habits are influenced by circumstances and also one occasionaly modifies his ways for the sake of his society. That is to say, he goes against his actual natural instincts. But as death comes, the superfluous impressions are left behind and only the real nature of the man reappears in the Barzakh (grave).

After death, the bestial faculty loses all its power and the angelic faculty is free to see the result of the deeds performed under the influence of that faculty and that he comes face to face with which is collected in the Haziratul Qudus. If the deeds are good, it feels happy, otherwise it is upset and feels pain.

It is quite natural that the angelic faculty as subordinate to the bestial faculty should accept the influence of the latter's mean desires. The worst of all is that it should begin to regard the attachments to ones relations and the wealth as the main purpose or object of their life.

The best of all deeds which help the Nafs of a person in the life-after-death, are humility towards God, and developing of a faith in Him in such a way that the world may lose all its importance to him.

16. State of People In Barzakh[1] :

In our dreams our daily experiences which leave their impression on our soul (Nafs) appear again in symbolic forms. Now, Barzakh is a long dream which starts with the death of a person and continues until the Day of Judgment. This dream actually is a state where the purification of the Nafs or Superior Soul takes place. The punishment or reward appear there in forms of pleasure or pain experienced by the Nafs (as mentioned in the aha'dith)

As the experiences of the people are varied, their states in the Barzakh differ from one another. In regard to these states, Shah Wali Allah has divided the people into various categories, of which the undermentioned four are more important.

i. The first category consists of the people who are wakeful by nature. In their life they were quite conscious of the consequences of their deeds. The same consciousness will now give them pleasure or pain, in accordance with the nature of

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1. According to Baidawi "*Barzakh* is an intervening state (ha'il, a barrier) between death and the Day of Judgement. The commentator Husaini remarks: "Barzakh is a partition (Mani', [illegible]) between the [illegible], the grave in which they will remain until The Resurrection". Vide, Hughes : Dictionary of Islam.

the deeds done. Their state is analogous to a stagnant pool of water which is quite safe from the disturbance of the winds and at noon it gets suddenly illuminated. That is the light of their deeds which are good by nature or the light Yad-dasht or God's mercy and it relieves them of the troubles and they become covered with this light from all sides.

2. The second category is of the people who are sleepy by nature This is the class of continuous sufferers, because their sleepy state does not let them analyse the nature of their pangs Their state is like the one who suffers from yellow bile. Such a person in his dream always feels the burns of the real fire although on waking up he does not see any fire around him Thus the pangs of this category would last until the Day of Judgement.

3. Third category is of the people whose both angelic and bestial faculties are weak As their bestial faculty is too weak to sway over their angelic faculty, they are able to contact the angels of the earth, and thereby get support and guidance from them in their worldly deeds.

After his death, the people with such faculties return to their original position and all traces of their indulgence into the affairs of the world disappear from their Nafs (Soul) Under the circumstances, it becomes easy for them to join the ranks of the angels of the earth. Like these angels they receive Divine revelations and do the same things as the angels. These men help the obedient people in the propagation of the word of God, or assist them in the path of the Almighty Lord.

Some men of this group love to be in a definite (ideal) human form. A door is opened for them into the world of Similitude. The force that surrounds that ideal world is combined with their Nasma and makes them adopt a form of light. If some of them feel a desire for eating and drinking, they are provided for. The verse of the Quran "Do not

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1. Y'ad-d'asht : It means complete attention towards God without any disturbance from the affairs of this world.

regard those killed in the path of God as dead ; but they are alive, receive their nourishment from Him, and feel happy over God's gift", refers to the state of these people.

Just opposite to this group there are other people who are nearer to the devils (shiatin) either due to their nature or personal efforts. They are surrounded by darkness, and mean desires appear before them in symbolic forms. Due to their worldly attachments they always suffer from pangs of regret and sorrow.

The fourth category is of the people whose animal faculty is more powerful than the angelic. For this reason their indulgence into the affairs of the world is deeper and lasting. This attachment to the world does not quit their Nafs even after their death. Animal desires still cling to and influence their Nasma, although actual form of the body no longer persists. In their hearts such people believe (though outwardly deny it) that body and soul are one and the same, or soul is a thing less important than the body.

The peeple of this group receive but very meagre ray of light. If any one of them has done any deed in accordance with the will of Angelic Faculty, he will be able to see sweet forms of angels surrounded by an aroma of fragrance from paradise. But the one who did nothing but evil in his life would see only ugly forms of angels of Hell.

In short the period of the grave is a continuity or extension of this worldly life and its state or condition is the reflection of the deeds performed in this world of Matter. All the experiences of the soul manifest themselves one by one in good or bad forms (as the deeds may be) In resurrection, things would be different for there the individual values of man would disappear, only collective human values will stand fast.

17. Secrets of the Events of Resurrection :

It has been described above in another chapter, that Haziratul Qudus is a place in the *Sphere of Soul* to which the

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۱ - ولا تحسبن الذين قتلوافی سبیل الله امواتا بل احیاء عندربهم
یرزقون فرحین بما اتاهم الله من فضله - القرآن -

human souls feel attracted as a piece of iron is attracted by a magnet. In fact, it is the place where human souls after having rid of material alignments meet the Great Soul (Ruh-i-A'zam)

This Haziratul Qudus or Encirclement of Purity or holy fold is represented in the Sphere of Similitude in the form of a human being This human from in reality is the Collective Quality (Collective Human value) of human species. Now, if the human beings collectively or individually happen to do unnatural or unspecific deeds, this ideal Haziratul Qudus gets disturbed. But if they follow the natural and specific course it feel Secure and happy A religion (if it is true) is a natral course specified for human beings prepared by Divine Wisdom. But it happens that human beings due to certain circumstances leave this natural course and adopt their own paths and thereby the collective human spirit gets dissipated. In fact, each individual has its specific values and also its separate individualist values which determine its activies unless other circumstances force their way into it. The trdition of the Prophet "All children are born in the same natural faith" refers to this thing.

Take for instance, the species, other than the human, such as bees and falcons. The bee has a special external feature and a different mode of life. The bees follow the course which is revealed to them. But if they leave that course and adopt another one which is not suited to their nature their species would automatically come to an end The same is the case with the course specified for human beings

If the human beings follow the natural course, the automatic result is that their souls would be attracted towards the Haziratul Qudus and there they will meet the Great Soul After the death every one's actions are judged according to that specific course *i.e.*, how far they have tried to preserve the collective human spirit. The followers of the Prophet who know everr well the values of the natural course follow it, will receive the punishment for their minor slips in the Barzakh. On the Day of Judgment they will see the Great Soul without any hinderance.

As the process of creation stops at a fixed time, know only to God, the Day of Resurrection will begin. The souls will

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۱ - (الحدیث) کل مولود یولد علی الفطرۃ

return to their material bodies and shall be asked to give an account of their deeds That is, they will explain how far they have followed the natural course pointed out to them by God through his messengers or revealed to them without any gency.

By the way, this returning of the soul to the body is not a new life but it is completion of the old one. If it were a new life, and the bodies were not the same, the punishment for the deeds would have been meaningless.

It should be known that there are symbolic forms of certain 'abstract ideas' just as it happens in our dreams. This can be illustrated in this way. The prophet in his m'iraj (Ascension) was offered two cups of milk and wine which actually were the symbolic forms of the ideas of "Good" and "Evil". The Prophet understood the inner nature of both of them and preferred the milk.

The state of the people whose Animal soul (Nasma) is strongly attached with the Supersor Soul (Nafs-i-N'atiqa) would be like a blin man who never thinks nor wishes for the light or colours until after a long time when he knows them through symbols.

On the Day of Judgment, the deeds will be judged according to the standard already known to all. Even the limbs will be made to speak for their actions. The wealth of misers who failed to pay the poor-tax will be put on their heads, and other sinners will be branded with hot iron. In any case, the punishment would be of the nature which the human form can allow upon itslf.

The desires of the souls of the people who performed good deeds, or have undergone the purifying process in the Barzakh and are now spotless and clean, would be fulfilled there. For instance, if any one wants to do cultivational work, he will be allowed to do it. The wishes for comforts will be duly accomplished. The prophe is reported to have seen a red-liped maiden in Paradise. He learnt form the angle Gabrial that she was meant for Ja'afar b. Abi Talib, because he wished for such a thing.

The obedient souls will receive Divine illumination and other gifts about which the Prophet has not given any details.

THIRD DISCUSSION

On Sociological Development

(*Irtifaqat*)

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18. Process of Development :

God has created in human beings certain natural desires and revealed to them the means of fulfilling them. A man however primitive in culture knows how to quench his thirst and satisfy his hunger. In fact, the same is the case with insects and beasts and birds. But the mode of life of human beings is different from that of the beasts. The reason is that the animals are prompted to action by their instinctive urges alone and they care but little for the means. But the human beings have also to keep the means before their mind. Besides the instinctive urges, man has also to act for others which the beast cannot or do not do.

In regard to means, every one would try to adopt such things which are easy and refined. For instance, in satisfying his hunger he would prefer a nice, digestible dish to an unwholesome, raw stuff acquired from the jungle. For the sasisfaction of all of his desires, he follows the same principle.

Even in the absense of means, man possesses sufficient wisdom to invent or discover them. He dug up wells and canals for water for irrigation and drinking, grew crops and stored up grains for constant use, made pots and utensils for cooking his raw food. In this way he made his life regular which has not been possible for the animals. The animals have not allowed any kind of change into their daily lifr. A sparrow builds the nest today as it did one thousands years ago.

One of the greatest things which man has ever done is the evolution of a form of speech by which he has been able to

communicate his ideas to other of his kind and take their help in difficulties.

The main causes for the change in the life of human beings are the circumstances in which a group or individuals may happen to be placed at a time. The circumstances force them to invent means for the new requirements. Whereever there were more requirements, there have been more and larger inventions and the progress of that group has been greater than the one under better circumstances, having less requirements.

In the rural areas, the people lead a crude form of life and their needs are few which they know how to satisfy. But the people of the towns live a compact life, very much dependent on each other ; their needs have necessitated new inventions and discoveries. With this they have found opportunity for mental development, grow sharp in wits, and make their life refined and their vocations regulated. In fact, the life of the forest dwellers is the first stage in the social development. The life of the people of the villages is a stage higher than the former. But the society is not yet morally perfect. It becomes perfect as many small tribes join together into a more closely related group --a nations - and elect a ruler for themselves and accept his orders. This national life is the third stage in the path of human progress towards natural development.

But it is not always possible that a nation may lead its vocational life in perfect peace and security When it has its frontiers common with other nations, it is likely any of them may cross sword with them due to clash of interests To avoid such wars and bloodshed, an international system of Government is essential.

The head of such an international federation should be a person who possesses extraordinary merits. But such a person (whom Shah Wali Allah calls Caliph) is available only once in several centuries.

19. Rural Stage Explained : (Irtifaq-i-Awwal)

Man is distinguished from his primitive colleague the beast for his language (a means for the expression of feelings) and his intellectual powers. Language as a matter of fact is nothing but certain vocal sounds related to the forms of things

abstract or concrete. By his intellectual powers man found eut the way to satisfy all of his desires as far as possible. He grow crops, gardens, stored up corn for his daily use, built houses, tamed cattle for ploughing, and other beasts for carrying burden. He specified for himself a wife and thereby laid the foundation for a real social group. The birth of children necessitated a wider sphere of activity for him in order to feed all the members of the family.

It was not always possible for him to meet all of his requirements singlehanded ; so he sought the help of other similar groups The result of this cooperation was a greater group (clan) united together by blood or other ordinary or sentimental ties. Because interest and capacity for work vary from person to person, so every one in the group took to a separate work or vocatipn which was easy for him. In this way, a kind of vocational system was also introduced into the group.

Also a "*System of Exchange*" was evolved for the disposal of the surplus of one's labour as an assistance to the vocational life In fact it was not possible for a farmer to consume all of his produce : nor was he self-sufficient in regard to other needs, so he had to barter a part of his produce with the produce of others.

In order to check the delinquents from interfering in the work of others, a man with a prominent personality was voted to the leadership, and with it the tribal organisation was completed. This leader or chief asserted his authority over others and decided mutual quarrels. He was supported and assisted in his work by the other wise men, orators, and lovers of peace and life of comfort. In fact, such leaders are necessary for the tribe to make it renowned and its prestige higher.

20. **Rules of Life.** (Etiquettes or Manners-Adabul Ma'ash) :

The best way of life is that wherein there is no risk of any loss to any individual of the group. It should however be based on the model presented by the habits of the people of perfect moral character and sound mental faculties. Each action in any case should be judged from the view of its utility

to the group concerned. Every rule, must also have the approval of the general body of the group. Otherwise it will not be followed with care by all the members. In the absence of such approval, the organisation will be loose and its life less regulated.

The important etiquettes concerning daily life usually deal with wearing of dress, eating, drinking, walking, sitting, habitation and others. In all of them one must be moderate, clean and polite.

The best thing is that only nice and pleasant things should be given preference over the dirty and repugnant ones. All sensible people agree on the fact that it is bad to appear before men or women in sufficient, uncouth, unclean and sloppy dress. The body should ever remain properly covered, leaving only the essential parts uncovered. For women it is necessary to cover the body as it is directed in the Holy Quran.

In talks or conversation with others politeness and modesty should be the guiding principle ; harsh words should by no means be used. Those who behave in this way, are really "the soul of oratory and sweet words."

These are the rules which have been accepted by all the peoples however distant they might be from each other, as the basis of soul morality.

By the way, the physicists and metaphysicians have played very important part in establishing these moral laws. The former group keeps the material benefits in view, while the latter looks to their spiritual advantages.

It is not necessary, that the habits and customs of all the peoples living in different spheres or countries should be absolutely identical. It is quite natural that there may be some difference in some habits and custom owing to difference in climatic conditions and environments.

21. Family Life. (Tadbir i-Manzil) :

Tadbir-i-Manzil (Management of the house) is a science which deals exclusively with the affairs of domestic life. It

comprises of four important factors *viz.*, (1) Marriage; (2) Birth of children: (3) Ownership; (4) Mutual Relations.

An urge for continuation of the race (Baqa'i Nasl) and companionship which is there in every man obliged him to select a wife for himself. This is the beginning of a group life. The fact is that this small group (family) is the real foundation of the society. A harmony or discord in family has its bearing on the society itself.

With the birth of children the groups grew larger and their responsibilities increased which made them more dependent upon the people living in the neighbourhood or on other such small groups (families). A harmony will naturally have its good effects upon the mutual relations of several families.

Now, the harmony in the family is not possible unless every member of the family is well provided with all of his requirements. A man being stouter and more efficient to stand hard labour than his wife, has to procure means of livelihood for the whole family. The duty of the wife however is to rear up children and look after other domestic affairs because owing to her weak nature and mild temperament she is only fit for this type of work.

Marriage as a matter of fact is an essential institution in every society and it has always existed there in one form or other. Its importance necessitates that there should be a regular system for its solemnisation. That is, it should be openly celebrated so that every one must know it. Before it is celebrated it is essential that the consent of the girl should be taken, so that she may become aware of her new position[1].

Mutual confidence between husband and wife is extremely necessary. Sorrows and happiness should be shared by them equally. But if for any tangible reason there occurs any discord between the two, and there is no possibility for composing their differences, the divorce—the most obnoxious of all the legal things—should be resorted to.

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1. Vide also Al-Budurul Bazighah p. 60.

Also Hujjat pt. II., 294—95. The main consideration at the time of marriage should be piety of the would be wife rather than her beauty, wealth or connections.

It is the duty of the parents to educate their children according to each one's individual tastes and aptitudes. They should not however be forced to do or learn what is not physically possible for them. They should only be trained in morals and arts and industries essential for making them useful members of the society. In return for the hard labour the parents bear for the education etc., of the children the latter should do them every possible service whenever required.

Human beings by nature are either wise, dominant in spirit and extrovert, or timid, submissive and lacking intiative. Thus the humanity becomes divided by nature into two classes : the rulers and the ruled. Unless there is a mutual sympathy between the two, there is no possibility of the relations becoming cordial.

Without such mutual sympathy, marriage and other institutions cannot be successful. Also without it the life of the less resourceful persons will be miserable, and they will be obliged to lead a life of law-breakers such as burglars and thiefs.

Resume : The important principles concerned with the family life are as follows :—

(1) The causes which keep the marital life intact should be studied by the husband and wife.

(2) The husband should provide the family with the necessaries of life and protect the honour of his wife.

(3) The wife should be pious and faithful to her husband and perform the household duty with great zeal.

(4) In case of differences between husband and wife, every possible efforts should be made for reconciliation.

(5) Divorce be resorted to, should it become absolutely necessary.

(6) Children should be brought up according to their aptitudes.

(7) It is essential for the children to serve their parents.

(8) There should be definite mourning rites.

(9) The servants of the family should be well provided for.

(10) The servants must always be obedient to their master.

(11) Sympathy towards the poor people of the community.

(12) Respect for the head of the family.

(13) Duties of the head of the family towards other members.

(14) Respect and regard for ancestoral rites and traditions.

22. Mutual Dealings, Vocations and Barter :

Needs and requirements of a man are pretty large, and it is not possible for him to rely on his personal resources to meet them all. So a system of barter based on mutual sympathy and help was introduced With it the vocational life became regulated That is, each man took to a certain profession which was convenient for him and for which he had necessary facilities to carry it on permanently. He exchanged his surplus labour or produce with the surpluses of others.

It happened sometimes that either none was available to take the surplus produce or it was not possible to arrange with any other person for fulfilling one's needs. Then it was felt necessary to introduce some other means of exchange. Thus some precious metals were agreed upon to be the standard for exchange of things. This introduction of currency in fact solved many problems in regard to the trade.

The important professions dividing the general labour of the community are : cultivation, grazing of cattle, collection of the produce of the land and the sea (animals, herbs, and minerals) carpentary, smithy, weaving, trade and administration.

In selecting a profession for one self or at the time of allotting work to others, two things should be kept in mind (*i*) aptitude and capacity for work in the person conerned and (*ii*) environments and facilities for the work to be allotted. A physically strong person

would be fit for hard work like carrying load; a person of gallant spirit would be suitable for soldier's profession and so on. A smith's son should always be allotted his parental profession because he can master it without difficulty.

In the time of difficulty, the poor should always be helped by the rich and the weak by the strong. Otherwise such poor and weak persons shall be obliged to quit the land or do any antisocial acts. This material help should always be systematic and regular and according to the rules framed by general agreement.

In mutual dealings it would be better if any documentary evidence is drawn up for future reference. Men sometimes need loan or want to deposit money with some person, in such cases a written document would be essential. In the matter of cooperative enterprises such as land tenancy or joint labour, there should be an agreement among the parties for distribution of the profit. (Vide Part II, 274).

23. Town. Its Administration (Irtifaq-i-Thani) :

Town as a matter of fact does not mean only streets, markets, or buildings of brick and morter : it is an association of the people of various communities tied up together by common interests. It is similar in its form to an animal whose parts and limbs are united together making up a compact whole (body).

Just as the body of an animal is likely to suffer the shock through it with the trouble only in one limb, in the same way, in a town a little disorder in one part of it, the repercussions are felt in other parts too. For this reason, it is essential that there should be a system of management of the affairs of the town controlled from one centre. In order to get this object the management should be elected with the consent of all. The head on his own part must necessarily show an unquestionable character.

An inefficient leader assisted by a number of selfish advisers who look more to their personal need than to the needs of the people, is a regular curse for any town. Negligence of duty on his part or connivance at the crimes of some one, will encourage anti-social activities. Taking advantage of his weakness a large number of people of parasitic nature will draw on the treasury.

To meet these expenses the poor labouring classes will be heavily taxed Such a loose administration is always a cause for the ruin of the town[1].

Another cause of the ruin of a town is to allow the population to take up more profitable professions in disregard of the needs of the society. For instance, if all the people take to cultivation the vocational life will result in a complete break down and the needs of the town will not be met with. For this reason a balanced and systematic vocational life would be necessary.

It is the duty of the administration to build fortresses, inns, and factories, for the sake of defence and other purposes. It should dig canals and wells for irrigation and build bridges for crossing rivers. The traders should be encouraged to export and import commodities to and from other lands. The administration should instruct the people to behave well with the foreign businessmen, so that they may come there frequently and in large number.

It is also the responsibility of the administration to make arrangements for the men to carry on development of the land. Institutions for the study of caligraphy, Mathematics, Medicine and forecasting should be opened for that purpose.

There should also be secret service department in order to keep the administration informed of the activities of the bad people and the designs of the foreign powers.

24. National Government. Conduct of a King : (Irtifaq-i-Thabth.)

As the group of a people widens its sphere of activity, several tribes join together by the ties of religion or other common interests, submitting their individual tribal character to the entire group, a nation comes into existence. At this stage, the professions become more regulated and the daily

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1. Vide also Al-Budurul Bazigha : p. 77.78.

The main causes of disorder in the town are : Interference in religious matters by the apostatic elements. Excercising magic and administering poison for doing harm to any person ; Misapropriation and swindling ; Dishonouring womenfolk, abuses and harsh words ; Murder etc., etc.

life more systematised. But in order to check the animal urges from growing wild, a strong national government would be essential. The head of the government, that is king or imam, as in the case of the ruler of the former stage, must have a very high character. He should also be brave, talented, learned, sympathetic and polite. Without these qualities, he cannot inspire confidence, in the absense of which it is impossible to rule successfully.

It is the foremost duty of the king to supervise all the affairs of the state. He must not allow any kind of change in the customs or habits long established among the people. He should always be prompt in punishing or rewarding the culprits or others as the case may be. He must always be stiff towards his subordinates, otherwise taking advantage of his leniency, they may do some mischief in the state affairs. The dishonest should not be allowed to continue in service. Before dismissing them the cause of their dismissal must be ascertained and made public so that there may not be any misunderstanding in that respect.[1]

23. Ministers of the King :

Since the ruler of a nation or state cannot do all affairs of the administration single handed, and it is not humanly possible to pay equal attention to all his duties, some advisors or ministers would be necessary to share the burden with him. But these deputies must also have the approval of the people confirming the soundness of their morality and efficiency. Each deputy should be entrusted with the task he is capable of doing. The ruler should take care as to avoid appointment of any one who is not obedient to him. If any person of disobedient nature is appointed in his staff, it is likely he may revolt against his authority and endanger his life. This might also result in a lot of bloodshed.

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1. Vide also Al-Budurul Bazigha : pp. 79—80.
   Hujjat Bt. II, 356-57.

   A king should be wise, free, mature and physically and morally sound. It would be better if he is selected from the family renowned for its statesmanship. The appointment of a king can be made in three ways ; (a) Nomination(by the outgoing king ; (b) election by the nobles ; or (c) by general election. If any forceful person seizes the throne, he should not be opposed unless proves unworthy of it.

Since the king and the ministers serve the people the state treasury should bear the expenses of their maintenance. The collection of the taxes to meet the expenses of the administration should be done with great care and without discrimination. It would be almost criminal to impose taxes on the poor and leave out the rich. Flourishing trade and growing property should only be subjected to mild taxation.

There should be at least five ministers incharge of five separate departments :—

1. The department of general administration.

2. Defence. This department is just like the hands of a person. Incharge of this department should be a person who is experienced in warfare and battle tactics.

3. Foreign Relations.

4. Justice.

5. Religious affairs. It is the duty of the king to see that religious duties are performed with meticulous care. He should at once stop any rites or customs contrary to the religious law. His minister incharge of this department must be aware of all the religious duties, and should bring to the notice of the king if any innovations are made in the faith.

6. Secret Service Department.

7. King's Household Affairs

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26. Stage of Internationalism.

The stage of internationalism, in reality, is the highest form of civilisation as several states are united under one hand accept directions from the same federal authority vested in the supreme ruler or the *Caliph*. National limitations are absorbed into a wide internationalism and a feeling of brotherhood embraces a greater group of humanity.

When the states have common frontiers, there is always possibility of their crossing swords at the clash of interests which naturally result in heavy bloodshed and greatest loss of wealth or property. Also it is possible some greedy king who by distributing money may attract a large number of warriors and raise a huge army, fall upon the neighbouring state causing devastation there. Just to stop this sort of incursions into the territories of others, an international system of government is indispensible. But such a government is possible only if all the conceding states have the same standard of civilisation, and if a really worthy person acceptable to all is available to head the federation.

"When such a federal state presided over by a caliph comes into being, peace and prosperity prevail the land, all rebels become loyal and the divine bounties are perfected". A caliph who keeps all the states united together by his wisdom or inspired personality is really a blessing of God upon the earth.

After such a system has been established, it is the duty of the caliph to study all the causes and take all measures against what may lead to break down of the federation or may lead one nation to war against the other. If any state within the federation declares war on the other, the caliph should at once exercise his authority to stop it or punish the culprits. The best way to minimise such possibility is to keep a huge army paid from the federal treasury.

For the sake of peace it would be necessary that the heads of the revolting state should be killed or reduced to a position from where they may not rise up again.

The caliph should recognise the services of the well wishers of the federation, learned men, chiefs of all nations and tribes and pay them appropriate rewards. If the caliph administers the affairs impartially, he would be loved by all and all will pray for his long life. On the coins too his name will be inscribed as a mark of respect for him.

27. Common Sociological Laws.

Right from the advent of Adam upon this planet, these principles (given in the foregoing chapters) have guided the

the progress of humanity towards highest civilisation. Their method of satisfying various urges have been fundamentally the same. Of course they have differed in details owing to differences in their environments. Denial of these principles by the ignorant or senseless people does not go against our assertain. If we really search their hearts we will see their denial is only superficial and not real. For instance, if any person behaves with them in the same manner as they do to others, they fret and fume and run into passion. In any case, disposal of the dead, celebration of the birth, and marriage, hatred for the theft, and fornication, are the things known to every tribe and nation upon the earth.

These principles, however, are most essential for the foundation and progress of every society. One comes to know the value of them instinctively. Even if any person is born in the woods far away from the civilised part of the world, he will find for himself the means to satisfy his urges. If he happens to have a wife, he will have children and the group will gradually become large. The wise and inspired person among them will become the leader. He will then form certain rules with the view of regulating the life of his clan, which in many respects will be identical with those given above.

2[illegible]. Place of Customs in Society

It should be borne in mind that customs for social development are as necessary as 'heart' is for the body. Religion the essential feature of society lays the foundation on good customs.

There are several causes for the customs to come into vogue. Some wise men being inspired with some idea begin to do a thing. Other people finding it useful follow it and it gradually becomes a custom. Or any learned man introduces certain practices which are adopted by the people which after a time become regular customs.

By customs the general principles of social development are preserved and a gradual progress of the people is maintained. In the absence of these customs most of the people will behave like beasts. In fact it is by these customs that the life of any group becomes regulated.

Sometimes bad habits or customs are also introduced by some evil and irresponsible persons which if not checked at the right moment will badly affect the moral life of the society. The most dangerous among them are : theft, robbery, usury, extravagance, too much indulgence in amusements and recreations like music, chess or pigeon flying etc. Imposition of heavy taxes on the poor labourers is also a very bad custom and it adversely affects the life of the community. Mutual grudge and jealousy among the officials of the state are equally harmful and distressing habits. It is the duty of all the wise men of the nation to do their best to eradicate bad customs and habits.

FOURTH DISCUSSION

Sa'adat or virtues

29. Significance of Sa'adat .

There are certain qualities by which human perfection is achieved. These qualities are either specific or pro-specific. What we call *Sa'adat'* or virtue belongs to the former category. All sound minded people try hard to preserve or develop these qualities. But Sa'adat does not actullay lie in the physical form, beauty, or strength of a person. If it were so the mountains, flowers, and lions would have surpassed mankind in this respect.

There are certain other qualities in human beings, the roots of which are also found in the beasts and birds, such as civilised manners, civic sense, good artistic skill, and high position. Apparently they appear to be Sa'adat, and many people try to attain them. Actually, they are only the imitation Sa'adat (sa'ada bil 'arad). The real Sa'adat lies in the qualities which assist the soul in subduing the wild animal urges. That is what only human beings can possess for obvious reasons.

A true Sa'adat is directly concerned with the affairs of two kinds ; *viz.,*

1. Those relating to the mode of life controlled naturally by the angelic faculty of the Nafsi Natiqa. But in such case the qualities required for Sa'adat cannot be developed because for developing such qualities the probing of the idea,

behind all of them is necessary. The qualities are actually developed through resistence from the side of other people, just because necessity is the mother of invention, and material and means are needed for the perfection of arts and crafts.

2. Those relating to subduing of animal faculty by the angelic faculty of the Nafs The process for this is that the angelic faculty by virtue of its superior force may influence the animal faculty in a way that the latter should become its subordinate and take directions from it. Over this success, the angelic faculty feels elated, and acquires the state of the Sphere of the Angels. The fact is that this state is not easily achieved. One has to perform continuous worship, and other good work (riadat) in order to succeed in this field. Worship and good work ('ibadat and riadat) are in reality a snare to trap the quality which is not already present in the Nafs.

Really speaking Sa'adat is a thing which every person regards as worth labouring at. All the people with moderate temperament feel instinctively inclined towards its achievement. The philosophers, even the kings and others know it full well that by attaining this virtue human beings have joined the ranks of angels. All the peoples (Arabs and non-Arabs) recognise the value of this sa'adat because of their specific unity and identity in mutual states.

30. Sa'adat varies from Individual to individual :

Men in respect of sa'adat can be divided into three classes :

1. Those who are virtuous by nature.
2. Who are evil by nature.
3. Who are neither virtuous nor evil, but just between the two extremes.

1. Men virtuous by nature behave well instinctively and are affected little by any outside influence. They are hardly tempted to do anything contrary to their nature. They are the leaders or Imams and set up examples of good morals for others.

2. This second category is just the reverse of the former class of virtuous people. They will never do any good however pressed for it. They are virtually deaf, dumb, and blind and passed all remedies. The man whom khwaja Khizr had killed as he went alongwith Moses, belonged to this class. (Al-Quran Part XVI).

3. This class which lies just between the above two extremes is that of common people and has the seeds of good or bad morals in them. But they need regular guidance for the achievement of *sa'adat* and perfection of their morals. The advent of the Prophet was meant mostly for the guidance of this class of people.

The Prophets guided them by their already perfect nature assisted by the divine inspiration. They set up a definite path by following which the attainment of sa'adat became possible. The achievement of spiritual or moral perfection in fact needs a guide just as the perfection in arts and carfts requires the guidance of a master artist or carftsman.

31. Methods of Attaining Sa'adat :

Attainment of sa'adat is possible in two ways :

1. **Special and particular way.**
2. **General way.**

The former method is rather a difficult one as it is only within the reach of a special class of people who are endowed with great or predominant angelic faculty. Such persons by adopting certain abstemious habits and undergoing hardships succeed in subduing totally the animal desires and these happen to create in themselves the "*state*" of the Sphere of Angels. They become completely disconnected with the sphere of Matter and receive revelations of the higher heaven. Among the mystics these people are called "majdhub" or distracted (or unconscious). Most of the philosophers including the platonists recommend only this method of attaining virtuous qualities (sa'adat).

The second method is general and quite easy for the common people. What is intended in this method is just to

straighten up the "crookedness of the animal desires" and to bring them in line with animal desires of others. By performing good deeds as outlined by the leaders or the prophets the angelic faculty succeeds in subduing the animal desires. Total disconnection from or renunciation of the world is considered as undesirable in this method. But on the other hand it is made incumbent on every one to contribute towards regulating the social life.

It is really the simplest course for attaining sa'adat and quite within the reach of every one. It has also got support from the Almighty, because it is in the interest of the people that they should lead a smooth and proper life. So, whoever works for this social welfare, receives blessings of God and attain thereby moral perfection. The Prophets, Leaders, and other Wisemen adopt for themselves this course and recommend to others the same. By this, one is sure to achieve both physical and spiritual benefits.

32. Attainment of Sa'adat through Second Method.

The scope of the second course extends over the development of four qualities, *viz.,* Purity, Humility, Generosity or resistance to wild desires, and Moderation which are fostered in man when Nafs-i-Natiqa *i.e.* (angelic faculty) forces the animal faculty to work according to its will. By these qualities it is possible for one to contact the sphere of the angels, because these qualities have similarity with the state prevailing there in.

The object of the prophets is to create four qualities in their followers, and with that they help them achieve state of perfection in both the spheres of matter and spirit.

Purity or Tah'arat which means the removal of physical and mental dirt from oneself, comes first in order of precedence. In purity itself, physical cleanliness is a premier necessity, because it is a prerequisite to mental or spiritual cleanliness. A man physically dirty is not quite clear and clean in his thoughts. He is often gloomy and sullen A man physically clean, after he has actually accustomed himself to keeping neat, gets his mind to become quite clean and safe from devilish whims and nightmares.

Purity in fact cannot be attained over night : it needs constant practice. One should form the habit of keeping the body always free form filth. It is for this reason, that the Prophet has made *wudu* (ablution) compulsary for prayer, so that by removing dirt and dust from the body five times a day one must form the habit of cleanliness and attain spiritual perfection.

Humility or *'Ijz* is to submit oneself to the will of God. When a man at the time of prosperity and comfort, remembers the signs and attributes of God and deeply ponders over them, his Nafs gets awakened and thereby becomes conscious of its helplessness. This total sumbmission to God on the part of one's self results in the creation of a peculiar state in him by which he can contact the sphere of Purity ('Al-am-i-Quds), and the knowledge of Truth gets impressed on his soul. It is however difficult to describe such a state and the knowledge attained thereby, baffles all accounts because it all belongs to the world of spirit.

The third quality is Samahat literality generosity or resistence to animal desires. A man deeply engaged in the satisfaction of these desires seldom cares about anything else. The effect of the desires goes right into his soul and is impressed on it as a seal on wax. But if these desires are resisted with a will, the impression can be meagre and insignificant. In such a state one can easily understand the real value of these desires and easily come out of the narrow chambers of the pleasures of them. Samahat has its advantages both in this and the next world.

As a man with this quality sufficiently developed quits this world, his Nafs feels great happiness and comfort. But the man without it feels the after-effects of his worldly desires in the form of great regret and pain. This state can be explained by an example of a person who lost something. A man with this quality of Sa'mahat does not care for the loss; but the one without it will wring and wreath himself and the picture of the lost thing will always remain before his mind and will ever disturb him.

The fourth and the last quality of the Sa'adat is the '*Adalat* (Moderation) or the right middle course for every action. 'Adalat in fact is the special quality of the Nafs

by which the affairs of a country or nation are settled; and perfection in spiritual sphere is attained. This quality has its bearing on every action of a man. It prevents him from going to the extremes.

All of these qualities as stated above are necessary for the attainment of perfection (*i.e* Sa'adat). The state of Sa'adat in any man is always in proportion to the development of these qualities in him. It is only with these qualities that one can understand the significance and purpose of relation with God.

As it is given above, the development of these qualities results in creating a peculiar state in the soul of a man which is called *Fitrat* (Nature). The course for the creation of such a state is not always smooth There are things which help the qualities to produce that state; but there are others which stand in the way of it. These obstructions are usually called "*The Veils of Fitrat*". They are many in number.

33. Process for Removing Defects in Qualities :

A systematic development of these qualities is possible in two ways: (1) By knowing the benefits of the qualities: and (2) By active habits.

The disposition of a man is naturally subordinate to the force of knowledge, and can easily accept any suggestion from it. Thus if any one possesses the knownledge of the values of these qualities his disposition will love to develop them. For instance, if a person fears God, believes in His omnipresence, that He is every where and sees and punishes all who do evil, he will naturally resist all temptations of evil deeds and will never dare to perpetrate any punishable offence. In the scriptures, the records of the ancient events are kept just to educate the people; for as they will know the consequences of the evil deeds suffered by the ancient nations they will desist from committing similar offences against humanity or God. With a strong faith in these records one shall not be forced by the animal faculty to go outside its prescribed limits.

The second procesr is to get accustomed to these qualities by active habits. If anyone keeps himself always clean, resists evil thoughts, and is constantly engaged in worship of God as

directed by the Shariat, he will naturally cultivate the qualities of *Sa'adat*.

34. Veils Obstructing Development of the Qualities.

There are three great obstacles or veils which prevent free development of the qualities of the Sa'adat :

1 Veils of disposition (hij'ab-i-tabi'at)

2. **Veils of custom (hij'ab-i-rasm).**

3. Veils of ignorance (hij-ab-su'al ma'rifat).

Every man is born with certain natural desires which effect the state of his heart (his heart is a carrier for his physical condition), and he remains so engrossed in the fulfilment of these desires that he forgets the cultivation of any virtuous qualities. Some people actually get lost into these desires in a way that they bid good bye to all customery or rational obligations. Even the condemnation by the people of his evil habits does not produce any effect on them. This is the evil of *tabi'at* (nature)

There is another category of people who possess sufficient reason and capacity or aptitude for imbibing good qualities. But they being indulged in some occupations of national pride lose sight of the value of qualities or attainment of Sa'adat. This is the veil of the world or custom. The condition of these people after death is *"like the owner of a garden whose blossoms have been blown away by the storm."*

The third veil is that of ignorance or lack of knowledge of true distinction between God and man There are people who because of such ignorance confuse God with man, and ascribe qualities or attributes of one to the other. The people of such defective faith remain ignorant throughout their life and fail to imbibe good morals and develop qualities of the Sa'adat. In fact, these people follow other learned men in many respects, but their own defective faith stands in the way of their achieving the Sa'adat.

35. Process for Casting off Veils.

The veils of the disposition can be cast off by persuading one self or by taking up abstemious habits like fasting and wakefulness. If the natural desires are brought under the control of the Nafs, much of their force will disappear. For this purpose of subduing the Nafs a habit of constant worship is very useful. But the asceticism (زهد) must not be taken too far It would be brutish to cut off organs of the body just to check desires These un-natural changes do not really stop thinking about such animal desires. The actual process is to bring them under control by gradual hard work or constant prescribed worship of God. And if he happens to do anything evil, he should impose some sort of punishment upon himself, so that he may not be tempted to do the same thing again.

Where the general uplift of the society is intended, it is the duty of the leaders to bring all the culprits to book, otherwise many more will prepetrate similar offence with immunity.

In the case of *Veil of custom* (rasm) there are two ways of casting them off. Firstly, divine worship should be taken as an integral part of the daily engagements. The worship should be performed by reciting the words intended for remembering God, and by sticking to limitations and restrictions which are meant for seeking His pleasure Secondly, the customs and usuages which have no practical value should be disregarded and socially banned. All the things which incite love for these customs and usuages should be discouraged and officially checked.

The veil of ignorance can be removed by acquiring true knowledge concerning Divinity, that is, God does not lead a life as we do, nor is His person or attributes like ours.

It occasionally happens that some perceptible forms collected in the mind from sensual experiences, hinder the people from realising Truth about God. In order to get rid of these hinderances, man should keep himself aloof from the multitude and remember the names of God constantly. In fact, it is by these habits that the people have succeeded in receiving true knowledge about Allah.

FIFTH DISCUSSION

Significance of *Good* and *Evil.*

36. Definition.

A *good* deed is one

(a) which is useful from the social point of view ;

(b) by which the veils which stand in the way of development of the qualities of Sa'adat can be removed;

(c) by which the spirit of obedience of the performer becomes manifest;

(d) which is done to receive inspiration from the higher heaven ;

(e) which is rewarded either in this or the next world.

A *bad* deed is one

(a) which creates disorder in the ranks and files of the society and is likely to give harm to any of its members;

(b) which is done at the instigation of the devil and suggests disobedience towards the Almighty ;

(c) by which the veils are strengthened.

This definition of good and evil has been accepted as the right one by all learned men of every religion and of every country. If some people of imperfect reason disagree with it, that will not make any difference or affect the truth of the definition for their position in the human society is like the part of a body whose removal or amputation does not effect the general system any way.

37. Belief in the Unity of God (Tawhid) :

Belief in the Unity of God (Tawhid) is the very basis of Good (Birr), or it is the best of all the Good Deeds. By it, one of the most important qualities of sa'adat (*i e*. Humility) can be imbibed and the sphere of the Unknown contacted.

The Prophet Muhammad has assigned to the ***belief in Tauhid*** in the whole system of faith the place of heart in the body of a man. If this belief is correct, every other deed of a man concerned is correct and has its value. According to another tradition of the Prophet, God will forgive every sin except the one violating Tauhid. In fact, it is not liked by the Almighty that anyone of His creation be associated with Him.

There are four degrees of Tauhid.

1. Belief in the independent existence of God (Wa'jibul Wujud) and that every thing else is dependent (mumkin).

2. That God only is the Creator of every thing.

3. It is only the will of God that plans and administers the affairs of the universe.

4. Only He is worthy of worship and nothing besides Him.

The astrologers' belief that the movements of the stars control the affairs of the earth (such as prosperity, adversity, epidemic, good health etc.) is quite contrary to the truth. It was due to this false belief that the Arabs before the advent of Islam worshipped stars and invoked them for help in their difficulties.

It is also wrong to ascribe divine attributes to human beings as the Christians, Jews, and Sabians do to their prophets. It is impossible for a man to possess the attributes of God. The

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1. The most important of good deeds concerning the Faith are, Belief in the Unity of God, His Attributes, Providence, Signs of God Ablutions and Bath, Prayer, Poor Tax, Fasting, Pilgrimage etc.

love for or the worship of anyone else than God cannot help man in his difficulties. Because God has not delegated any of His powers to any one, it is only the will of God which shapes things.

38. Significance of Shirk.

(Associating anything with God) :

The main purpose of worship is to express one's obedience and respect to God and to admit one's helplessness vis a vis His omnipotence. This expression is made either in heart or out-wardly by bending and prostrating before Him.

But this respect and obedience differ in quality from that shown to the kings, teachers and the khalifas. Prostration of the angles before Adam or of sons of Jacob before Yusuf was only an acknowledgement of the attributive superiority of the one over the other.

Also power, dignity, and conquest have two degrees. One is human and the other divine. The human power is different from the divine power although the same literal terms are used for both. The power of the king need labour for its acquisition and maintenance whereas divine attributes are eternal and self-preserved.

Men are different in their capacity for knowing things of the world and every person has been called upon to bear the responsibility in the world according to his capacity Thus they know about God too according to their individual capacity. But it is essential to distinguish the power of God from the powers of the human beings. In fact God forgave the man (as it is reported by the Prophet) who asked his sons to burn him after his death and scatter his ashes in the winds so that God may not resurrect him. It was beyond his capacity to understand that God could also resurrect him even though his ashes were scattered all over the earth.

To compare God either with stars or human beings having some miraculous powers, is an inherent belief prevalent among some peoples. They believe that God has delegated His powers to certain things or persons. But that is falsifi-

cation of a hard fact. It is rather a disrespect to God. The miraculous powers of certain persons are only a spiritual affair ; it has nothing to do with divine attributes. The belief of the Christians and Jews that some of their prophets were the sons of God is also wrong. Such a thing is impossible (vide al-Quran).

It is however the duty of the prophet and the wisemen to inform the ignorant folks about the distinction between the attributes of God and the capacities of human beings.

39. Kinds of Shirk :

The shirk is :

1. To ascribe divine power to a human being. In fact such is possible only if God shares his power with any one. The infidels before the advent of Islam used to address God at the time of pilgrimage : "We are here O God, who has no associate except those whom He Himself has selected for it and whose master He still remains". The Prophet pointed out the defect in these words, and told the Arabs clearly that God is without any associates.

2. To Prostrate before images or Stars.

God has said in the Quran "Worship not the sun, nor the moon ; but worship the One who has created both of them".

3. To invoke any one other than God for help at the time of difficulty.

4. To worship learned men or ascetics of the community or the tribe as the infidels among the Arabs used to do before the advent of Islam. It is a clear shirk. The Arabs before Islam regarded the words of their learned folk as the divine revelation and acted upon them. Lawful or unlawful nature of things was determined by the learned men alone, and it was therefore changed according to moods and whims of them.

5. To offer presents to the images or stars, or offer sacrificies in their name for the purpose of receiving rewards or for the fulfilment of their wishes.

6. To swear in the name of any one other than God.

7. To go on pilgrimage to the places other than the house of God at Mecca.

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40. BELIEF IN THE ATTRIBUTES OF GOD :

Among the good deeds next to Tawhid in respect of their worth comes the number of "Belief in the Attributes (Sifat) of God". Such belief enables a man to submit himself to God and with His favours to be closer to Him.

God is not like a thing lying within the range of our knowledge, so it is difficult for human beings to understand Him through imagination or comparisons. An attempt towards knowing Him by comparison would result in nothing but confusion of the mind and scepticism. It is for this reason that Prophet Muhammad disallowed his followers to ponder over "*Divine Being*"

Now, the Attributes of God are eternal like His Being and connected with it in some way known only to Him (not as 'Arad (accident) is connected with the Jauhar (substance). So these Attributes, too, come within the purview of the Prophet's forbidding command.

But still to ponder over the practical expression of these powers of God (i. e. His deeds) is not without advantages. It removes the doubts of the mind and helps one to attain perfection.

In fact, the terms used for the Attributes of Cod are the same as we do for human attributes, because any other expression would not have been property grasped by the human mind. So, those terms (as they are used in the Quran or the Hadith) should not be taken very literally. But they should be taken in the sense of *ends* and not *means*. For instance, the word Rahim (Merciful) does not suggest that God has a heart which is moved to pity whenever solicited. It only means the bestowal of gifts upon the persons who do good deeds and make themselves worthy of these gifts. The term hand in the Hadith *'God's hand is full"* does not meant hat God actually possesses a hand like us and that is full of anything. Also the references of God's hearing,

seeing or knowing should not be taken in the literal sense believing that He has ears, eyes as so on. These terms are used as stated above for bringing the power of His Attributes close to human understanding, and enabling human being thereby to achieve spiritual perfection.

Things of the world taken in the general sense are of three kinds : Alive (Hayyun). Inanimate (Jadid), and Dead (Mayyat) . . Inanimate and dead things cannot perceive or know any thing ; so these terms cannot be applied to God, because God possesses all knowledge about all things.

We use the term *Alive* for God because it can serve the purpose to some extent. The terms used in the Quran and the Hadith are based on the same principle. Knowledge in our sense is the source of revelation of the facts about things. As God knows everything about His creation : we call Him Great knower (Allam). Hearing and seeing also acquaint us with forms and nature of certain things. God knows what we say and what exists in any way, so we call Him Sami' and Basir (hearing and seeing). When we do anything, it means that we have power or capacity (Qudrat) over that thing. God has complete control over all things, so we call Him *Qadir* (Powerful). Words are meant for communicating ideas or intentions from one to another. God communicates His intention to the people through dreams, angles or by other means such as that one should hear an articulate voice but no person is there. Thus we name God as Mutakallim (Articulate).

The collective form in the Haziratual Quds (Fold of Purity) is a kind of centre from where the directions are issued (as Divine reflection falls on it) for keeping our system of life intact. If the people of the earth behave according to the instructions, the system goes on well, otherwise some disorder takes place. Now, as the system goes on well, the angles feel happy and we say "God is pleased". Happiness or pleasure does not signify that God has a heart which feels elated at the behaviour of the people.

41. Belief in Predestination ( )

To have faith in the Predestination is another good act—— (Birr), by which man understands the main plan worked out in

the entire system of the universe. By it one can also realise that one's own Will is merely a reflection in the mirror *vis a vis* the Will of God.

According to the Hadith of the Prophet, one's faith is not perfect unless one has a belief in the *good and bad determined by the Providence*, and also in the fact that whatever good or bad happens is directed by it and is therefore inevitable. The objection of some persons that belief in Fate or Providence is a denial of man's responsibility for actions, is quite flimsy and not tenable here. Providence means to fix up the cause before some effects come into existence. When the causes are there nothing can stop the effects.

Predetermination by the fate has five grades :

1. In eternity it was decided by God to give an appropriate form to His creation with the complement of all necessary qualities, aptitudes and relative attributes. After that God, by His perfect knowledge-designed its place in the order of things of the universe to, be.

2. The second grade of the Fate is that God fixed up the values of everything about fifty thousands years before the process of creation started. For Instance, God created the idea of the form of Muhammad, the Prophet of God, and wrote down the date of his appearance on the earth, the task he had to take up there and other things concerning his life 'How Abu Jahl will oppose him and how for that reason the former will be thrown into Hell, was also determined clearly. Thus things come into existence in this world just as they have been fixed up in eternity.

3. The third grade is the creation of Adam and the ideal moulds of all his progeny in the *World of Similitude*. By assigning light or darkness to each of these forms, God fixed also the capacity for virtue or vice in them. They were endowed with the power of understanding their own self and the Divine Existence.

4. The Fourth grade is measuring and judging of the child by the angels in the womb as the soul enters it. They take note of the length of its life, the nature of its deeds, *i.e.* whether they will be good or bad. They (angels) also come

to know by their clear wisdom the practical shape of virtues or evils of the child.

5. **The Fifth Grade is putting in order the events before they** descend from the *Haziratul Qudus* upon the earth. At first an ideal form of every event comes to the world where news concerning it spreads far and wide. Shah Wali Allah saw many a time such ideal forms descending upon the earth. Once he saw a group of people quarrelling among themselves; their hearts were full of frightful wrath and rage, by which the scuffle grew more and more serious. He prayed to God for calming down the hearts of the enraged mob. Shah Wali Allah witnessed the effect of his prayer then and there as an ideal form descended from the Haziratul Quds on that mob. As the imperceptible light of that form spread upon the fighters, softness and sense entered their hearts and the scuffle disappeared. They started to behave as if they were friends, and no enemies.

In short, it has been clearly stated in the Hadith that events are created first in the Heaven and thereafter they are allowed to descend upon the earth in the manner as given above. Sometimes it happens that some of the events are cancelled before they appear. The verse of the Quran "God cancels whatever He likes and keeps whatever He likes or whatever wishes. He has the Great Record" refers to this fact. It happens that "*a difficulty for some one*" is shaped in the higher heaven, but his or any of his relative's prayer or good deed stops it there. That is, it does not befall that person. The secret is, that if the event-to-be is just an ordinary cause for an ordinary effect, such as food for life or poison for death and it has no bearing on the general system of life in the world, it can be easily averted. The prayer or chanting of mantras, or use of medicine or precautionary measures hold back the events of the lower grade only. But that too is written in the Great Record, that under such circumstances the thing will not materialise.

42. The Faith: Worship an Essential Duty.

Man must be absolutely sincere in his belief that worship of God is an essential duty for him. God demands performance of this duty as if it were His right upon every man. The Prophet told his friend Mu'adh that God demands from

human beings that they should worship Him and not associate any thing with Him: and in return their right upon God is that He should save them from hell. The person who has no faith in this essential duty is no better than a materialist.

The very desire for worship is inherent in every man. In his hearts every one acknowledge the great gifts of God bestowed on him and feels attracted towards the Haziratul Quds or Fold of Purity. The nature of this attraction can be explained in this way: In the soul of a man there is a point of light which runs towards the higher heaven as a piece of iron runs towards a magnet (The mystic calls this tendency as the Love for the Divine Bearing).

But this point of light which normally has its support from the 'Alam-i-Jabrut (Higher Heaven) where the Iradah or intention along with all its provisions for materialisation is determined, has a powerful foe in the animal faculty. The animal faculty tries to pull the point of light towards the material world and cover it with darkness.

The state of the people who die with the point of light covered with darkness is like the one who takes a sleeping dose and loses consciousness. These people as they regain consciousness after their death, will feel extremely miserable on account of their specific imperfection. Like a person suffering from yellow biles who sees fire in his dreams, they will see nothing but frightful thing there in the Barzakh (grave).

So, worship is not performed for the sake of God only but it is a specific necessity. Without it man cannot attain perfection.

The Shari'ah (Divine Code of Law) has explained the nature of worship in the form of certain obligations (faraiz). The for of these obligations one should not be confine only to the outward or physical movements. His heart must feel that he is doing it as an obedient servant to God and is paying gratitude for the great gifts He had given him.

43. Reverence for Signs of God :

The signs of God (Sha'a'irull'ah) are apparent or physical means by which God is worshipped. They are fixed by the

shari'ah for the sake of uniformity among the people and also as a sort of guidance to those who are unable to know the values of things.

It is quite natural that when a form of worship is established among some people, and it becomes their regular habit and custom, that it should attract the favours of the Almighty. Thus the *signs of God*, such as Prophet, Ka'aba, the Quran, the prayer, as mentioned in the shariah of Islam, have become the source of blessing for those who show reverence to them.

The Quran is just like the royal *farman* issued to the people. So respect to the farman is respect to the *King himself*. It is, therefore, necessary that the Quran should be touched with deep reverence and the instructions given therein be followed with great care.

In the time of the Prophet Ibrahim, the people had constructed temples for the worship of stars, because in their belief an oracle for the worship of the stars was essential. So, the Prophat Ibrahim built a house of God and invited the people to join him in the worship of the one God The practice of worshipping in the house continued from era to era until the time of the Prophet Muhammad. he reaffirmed its position as the House of God and made it a place of pilgrimage for all of his followers (who have the means to do so). As the place is dedicated to the Lord, and therein His favours and Mercy are sought, its reverence is necessary for every human being. It is really a sin to enter its premises in unclean State. As a regard for its antiquity and its longstanding status as the worship house, the followers of Islam have been called upon to turn their faces towards it at the time of every prayer (wherever they may be).

Just as the message of God deserves reverence, in the same way, the messenger needs must be respected by all. A respect to the messenger is indirectly the respect of the sender of him. If the instructions given by the messenger are followed by the people, he will feel happy and with him feels happy also the one who has sent him. It is essential therefore to pay due homage to the Prophet, the messenger of God.

The prayer is the means to present oneself before God and express one's obedience to Him, and show one's helplessness in

the face of His great power. So the respect and regard for the prayer too is necessary. In short, respect and regard for all signs of Allah (شعائر الله) are quite essential for human beings without which specific or spiritual progress is impossible.

44. Significance of Ablution and Bath :

It happens sometime that a lethargic person meets an accident which shakes off his lethargy and provides his disposition with a super energy The reason is that a sudden change in the physical condition of a man or a change in the habit provides a true mental cure. (Mu'alijatun Nafsania) Water as a matter of fact has the properties to change the physical state of a thing, and through it, it can indirectly affect the mental state. It has been proved by experience that by washing hands and feet and sprinkling water on the face we feel mentally solaced. It removes state of sleepiness or fit. The reason is that water removes dirt from the body, and makes one clean and neat which is liked by the soul.

Cleanliness does not create only a state of happiness in us but also it makes the soul to receive the light from the Sphere of the angles (Anwar-i-Malakia) God too loves the clean ones. So it is necessary that before presenting ourselves before Him we must remove dust or dirt from our bodies.

It happens sometimes, that a man by his efforts manages to get out of the material darkness and absorbs into himself the light of the Fold of Purity. With that flash of light in himself, he experiences a state which he wishes to perpetuate. So on going back to his original material state he feels the physical environments quite unpleasant and tries to find means to regain the same spiritual state. It is said, that performance of ablution and keeping clean helps one to regain that pleasant state The Prophets and saints have always preached cleanliness to their followers and disciples, so that it may help them to achieve success in the field of spiritualism. The people who are ignorant of these advantages, but remain clean due to their natural aptitude, also find themselves in a pleasant mental state which they do not like to quit.

Cleanliness actually means freedom from physical and spiritual or mental impurities.

We often see that a constipated person behaves/peevishly, flies into passion without any reason ; and a man covered with dirt is sluggish and off his self. The fact is that inner and outer cleanliness is necessary to make one's thoughts clear and pious. The nafs that is lost in animal desire is virtually unclean. So it is necessary to check such desires and bring them to such reasonable limits that they may not influence the angelic self.

Cleanliness is of two kinds : Minor and Major Minor cleanliness can be achieved by ablution or by mere washing hands and the face. Major cleanliness is washing of the entire body. Both the kinds are prescribed by the shariah and are to be observed under certain circumstances.

45. Significance of Prayer (Salat) :

Salat or prayer is a form of worhip performed according to certain rules, to show humility and to express gratitude to God. Constant worship too, as cleanliness, helps one to create in oneself the state of the Haziratul Quds and perfect one's spiritual state.

Prayer is based on three things :

1. Feeling of humility in one's heart ;
2. Verbal expression of that humility ;
3. Practical expression by limbs.

It is necessary that a man should keep it in his mind that he actually stands before the Lord ; because without that the heart is not likely to create in itself a state of humility.

For verbal expression, one should recite the names and attributes which import the greatness of the Lord and one's own humble position. And for practical expression, one should stand before Him, bend and prostrate as it is ordained in the shariah. The best form of prayer is that wherein all the three are combined together, and have due support of the verbal expression and the humility of the heart. In fact, mere standing and bending will not do.

Prayer is the thing by which both rich and poor or master and slave can be benefited. By it one can meet God and present one's difficulties and can seek His help against them. The Prophet has said, "You can meet God if you take care of your morning and after-noon prayers and if your worldly engagements do not keep you off from them".

46. Significance of Zakat or Poor-Tax.

As God graces any religion with His favours and inspires some one with the leadership of it, He makes all arrangements necessary for its maintenance and continuation. The leader in question is occasionally blessed with the idea of inviting the people to subscribe to the common fund to tide over the difficulties of war, famine and any other misfortune. This sort of subscriptions at the time of a calamity as prove beneficial, is made into a regular institution and bears its fruit for all the time. Some people of course can understand what pleasure there is in subscribing to this poor-fund and what disadvantages the closefistedness and greed entail.

As a poor man seeks his help from God, a door of His mercy and bounties is opened up before him, and God through revelation to some person arranges for the removal of his difficulty. In this way, the one who helps and removes that difficulty shares with him the mercy of God. For this reason, spending for a good cause, especially over the poor, trades off one's own great misfortunes. Even the death can be postponed for a while by it. It can be explained like this. If a needy person is given help, his heart will be pleased and will pray for the welfare of the helper. The prayer from the heart does not go unrewarded; and the misfortunes with all the details of their materialisation are cancelled. As wealth is spent in expiation of one's sin of which the repetition or recurrence is possible, the tendency will gradually disappear.

Subscribing to the poor-fund has its social benefits. It makes the standard of life high and regulates the progress of the community towards better means of subsistence To invite the poor people to sumptuous dinners is to cement mutual relations of the people.

47. Significance of Fasting :

It has been pointed out several times in the foregoing chapters, that the animal self of a person always stands in the way of free expression of the angelic faculty. The most effective way to subdue this animal self is to keep fast. Fasting puts a check to its wild desires and restricts the fulfilment thereof. Fasting is not only confined to eating and drinking. but the tongue (speech) and the heart (evil thoughts) also come within its jurisdiction.

Fasting indeed has both physical and spiritual advantages. With the animal desires becoming weak, one gets closer to the angels and receives divine knowledge. Fasting regulates the system of the man and saves him from brutish gluttony. It has its social advantages too. The rich can understand the nature of the trial which the poor undergo as they have no food to eat.

As the fast is observed in order to subdue animal self or to remove impurities of the soul, the act takes an ideal form in the world of Similitude which occasionally helps the man (in fast) to understand the secrets of Heaven.

48. Significance of Pilgrimage.

The real purpose of pilgrimage is that a large number of people should meet together at a particular day and worship God and seek His favours. The place must necessarily be one which has for long been used as the worship house, and has connection with the life of great pious man or men and thereby has become a means for the mercy and blessings of God. In fact, such a place of pilgrimage where pious men meet from year to year has been provided for in every religion.

The Ka'aba, the place of pilgrimage for the muslims, was founded by the Prophet Ibrahim and constructed according to instruction of the Angel Gabriel (Jibril). From that time it has been used as a place of worship and has virtually become a source of blessings of God. The pilgrims to that place thus receive the blessings and mercy of God. The angels become their companions and influence their anafs.

Pilgrimage in a way is a kind of test to distinguish between hypocrites and true believers. A hypocrite who loves his wealth much more than the signs of God or the religion, would scarcely spend anything for them and would never undertake a difficult journey to Mecca.

Pilgrimage has its social advantages also. For instance the co-religionists meet at a particular place in large number and have the opportunity to understand the state of affairs of each other and discuss any problems of common interest.

49. Types of Good Deeds :

Remembering God facilitates a man's approach to God and improves his knowledge about Him. It makes the heart soft and worthy of receiving divine light. It is also useful for a person whose animal faculty is too weak to prompt him to action ; and also for one who confuses in mind the abstract values (ahk'am-i-mujarradah) of perceptible things.

2. Invocation or Du'a : Du'a or invocation (seeking help from God) is a sign of one's obedience to God. It therefore opens vision and helps him achieve his immediate desires. The Prophet Muhammad says "*Du'a is the essence of worship*". It is an outward means to turn towards premier origin.

3. Recitation of the Holy Quran : The recitation of the Quran reminds a man of the gifts of God, His greatness, and the rewards and punishments of the good and bad deeds in this world and the next one. Also it prepares the ground in the heart to receive heavenly lights, and mercy of God. "For everything" says the Prophet, "there is a polish to brighten it up) ; the polish of the heart is the recitation.

4. To discharge one's duties towards one's relations, neighbours, and to behave well with the people of the town or every individual of the tribes or the nation

5. Holy Wars : It is the duty of every true believer to exterminate the elements which are responsible for a great trouble in the community. God usually reveals the nature of this war to a pious man (zakiul qalb) and grants him sufficient power to carry it to a successful end. This becomes the cause of great relief and comfort to the peace loving members of

the nation. Thus holy war is a necessity and is therefore a good deed.

6. Unexpected Calamities, if we study the effect of them they also prove as pious things, because they remind us of our humble position against fate, move us to submission and to straighteen up our crooked habits.

7. When a man is over burdened with difficulties and feels that there is no escape for him, the veils of nature or disposition and custom (hij'ab-i-tabi'at wa rasm) are lifted and he finds the path leading towards God smooth and easy for him. Wordly sufferings for a bel ever-in-God or the punishments for his slips on the earth are blessings. In the next world as he presents himself before God he will be quite free from all the sins.

8. *Disease* : Disease too like an accidental calamity often proves good for the soul. It weakens the animal urges and a change for the better in man's behaviour takes place.

50. Grades of Sins

The perpetration of an act for the satisfaction of one's animal self in disregard of the desire yf the angelic self is a sin. Sins are of various grades :—

1. The sins which hinder the spiritual progress or perfection of human beings. Taey are of two categories : (i) those which concern true knowledge about God : *i.e.*; to attribute human qualities to God or divine qualities to human beings, compare Him with anything created, and associate anything with His person or Attributes. (ii) those which concern the life-after-death, *i.e.* it is a sin to disbelieve the existence of another life, and that there is no perfection for the body other than the physical.

2. Indifference towards acquisition of virtues which form the very basis of every religion : and which enable human beings to attain perfection. Such an indifference on the part of any person leads him ultimately to an ecstatic state and to an after-death misery.

3. To give up practices (usually regarded as means of perfection) and adopt those which are universally codemned, as they are liable to create disorder in the society These practices include disobedience of the laws of shariah, killing some one, taking to usury, gambling etc. These acts being the reverse of the natural practices disturb the angels in the Haziratul Quds.

4 An open revolt against the Divine Code of Law Shariah or Religion) the observance of which is essential for every one, because it has been established by the Prophet in accordance with the nature of the time and the environments. To follow any other course which is not suitable for the time would create only disorder.

5. To go against the custom introduced by a mujtahid or mujaddid (renovater of the faith), or any other pious man, which the people follow with great care To leave that useful custom in favour of any other whose utility is doubtful will do more harm than good.

51. Evils of Sins :

A sin is major or minor for two reasons : –

(i) Its relation wish the principles of 'Good and Evil' (Birr wal *ithm*).

(ii) Its relation with divine code of law (shari ah) and the daily life.

According to the principles of '*Good and Evil*' a mojor sin is an action done against natural human life, and creates great disturbance in the society, and for which a sure and definite punishment is fixed. A minor sin is an action where there is *likelihood* of a disorder in the society. Or a minor sin is an act which is partly good and partly evil. For instance, a person spends money for some noble cause, but at the same time neglects his responsibility towards his own family ; he does not provide them with the means of subsistence : he is sinner of the minor category.

According to its relation with the shariah, a major sin is one about the magnitude of which it is clearly given in the Hadith and the Quran, such as associating anything with God, or attributing human qualities to Him or ascribing divine qualities to a man or a thing like stars etc. In some cases, some sins are minor in respect of their relation to *Good and Evil,* but they are major in respect of their relation to the shariah. Some Arabs before the advent of Islam were accustomed to certain habits which the shariah later on forbade Those who persisted in such habits, violated the commands of the shariah and therefore committed major sin, although in relation to the Good and Evil, the practice was of a minor category of sin.

If the person who has committed any major sin dies he is sure to meet due punishment in Heaven. According to some learned men, God pardons even major sins after death even though the perpetrator had died without having repented for it. Shah Wali Allah believes that it is possible from God's extraordinary ways of Mercy ; but ordinarily the sinner must be punished In any case a committer of the major sin from among the believers will not remain eternally in Hell After having received punishment for the sins, he would be allowed to enter Heaven. It is only an infidel for whom an eternal Hell-fire is destined

52. Sins Concerning Soul (Nafs)

As stated elsewhere, the angelic faculty of the Nafs is encircled by its animal faculty, and under the circumstances its state is just like a bird in a cage. But this angelic faculty, as its inner nature urges, wishes to get out of the cage and fly back to the garden of Paradise.

But there are certain things which make the bars of the cage of the Nafs stronger and there are others which break them down. For instance, a true faith in the Lord with all its essential factors relieves it from its prison ; but a faith contrary to that does just the reverse of it.

The faith in the Almighty is not a new thing for the human nature ; it is just what lies in the very core of it. So, it is the natural demand of every Nafs that one should believe in the Lord, and should not associate anything with Him.

Such a person who did not help the Nafs to run to the Haziratul Qudus (Fold of Purity) will find himself in a bewildered state and will meet the punishment according to the magnitude of the sin.

There are certain periods for certain states which prevail the earth (that state really is the *Shan* which is referred to in the verse of the Quran, "God is in a different state everyday *Kullu yaumin howa fishan*". As the period for a new state comes, the secret of it is revealed to the people of the earth, who as a matter of course begin to show respect for it. In that shan, some of the attributes of God appear in some symbolic forms ; so the respect for it becomes quite essential for the soul or Nafs (as it recognises it thoroughly well. But some people due to some other reasons, (such as influence from outside) refuse to pay any respect to it. At their refusal to recognise the truth, God's curse befalls them which influence their nafs and make them stiff and unable to receive the knowledge of God. The ayat (verses) "God has sealed their hearts and ears" refers to this particular curse that is reflected in the Nafs Such people are in reality like the bird whose cage is sealed or covered from all sides.

There are some people who possess knowledge about unity of God and have faith in it, but they do not pay heed to the principles of '*Good and Evil*'. They are just like a person who knows the value of "*shujaat*" (bravery) but cannot get the quality of it. The knowledge of Shuja'at is in fact different from the real quality of shuja'at In any case his position is a little better than the one who does not know the meanings of *shuja'at* at all.

The state of the Nafs of a person who possesses knowledge concerning *Unity of God* but has no regard for the principles governing Good and Evil, is like a bird who has the door of the cage open but due to its broken wings cannot fly out of it.

Next to that, is the state of that person who performs all duties prescribed by the shari-ah, but not with all the conditions (sharait) necessary for them. He is like a bird with partly broken wings who can come out of the cage but cannot fly far and enjoy the pleasure of the garden of paradise.

In short, the sins always stand in the way of the Nafs and keep it confined in a cage and do not allow it to fly to its original place in the *Haziratul Quds*, which it loves to run to so vehemently.

53. Sins concerning Society.

Animals, one and all, are created with certain innate aptitudes and tendencies (particular to each species) which they follow throughout their life. Some of them prefer to live (by nature) alone and others in the midst of their kind. Human beings belong to the second category. Their existence is practically impossible without the mutual help. They cannot live merely on grass or raw fruits or vegetables available in the woods

Unlike the beasts whose mode of life in every detail is revealed from God, human beings are given just a hint of it, and they have to use their own mental faculties for the development of means of the life. Thus as the need grew they invented and discovered ways of fulfilling them.

But the development in all cases is possible only if all the members live together on mutual support. There will naturally be a disorder if some members do not co-operate with the others.

The acts which in the long run lead to the disruption of the society are which :-

(*i*) pertain to sex ;

(*ii*) concern the personal conduct.

(*iii*) concern mutual affairs.

The urge for sex is common to all, and every normal person is particular about satisfying it. But it is not possible, especially for the physically timid persons, if the means for satisfying it are interfered with by the strong people. The institution of marriage was, in fact, established for the reason of this common necessity, and which is always respected by all good people. So, any act amounting to encroachment upon the rights of any one would be a vice and as such a challenge to the social order.

Sometimes evil habits such as drinking gambling are adopted by some people which lead to mutual quarrels and in the long run affect the relations. A drinker or adicted to liquor is apt to lose his senses, and under the circumstances he cannot behave politely. For this reason the cause of this wild behaviour, liquor, is declared unlawful.

The third category of the unsocial activities is bad conduct in mutual dealings. If every one pursues his own livelihood without the interference of others, all goes well. But if his time and labour are intruded upon by others, his vocation and his life might be disturbed. If such interruptions go on unchecked, it is likely that the town may be depopulated and entire business dislocated. It is just to stop this sort of interference in day-to-day life that the wise men of every nation formulate a code of law. To violate the laws of that code would be an offence against society. False evidences, breaking of the promises, usury, dishonesty in weight and measures, swindling are sins against society.

SIXTH DISCUSSION

RELIGIOUS ORDER

54. Necessity of Guide in Religion.

It is not within the capacity of every person to understand or find out ways and means by which he can check his innate urges from getting wild. It is only a person gifted with sound reason who knows this either by personal experience or through inspiration, and preaches the same to other people. As a matter of fact, it is not in the interest of God that His creation should go wild in respect of the fulfilment of the untamed desires and behave like beasts. So, He sends His warners and guides to every people who tell them what is good for them and what is bad. In any case, a guide is absolutely essential for a people, ignorant and imperfect, who would establish a definite code for them to follow.

In fact, it is sometimes possible for some people to find out by their individual wisdom the means or livelihood ; but it is not safe to put them into practice unless one is sure of their good or bad effects on the other members of the society, or on

ones own souls. In that case too a guide would be needed who knows or can know by his intuitive power the effect of such practices. It is just a simple matter to understand, that for attaining perfection in our arts and crafts, we need a teacher or guide. Then why should not there be a guide for religion which concerns both the spheres of spirit and matter.

The guide by his innocent, model character sets an example before the people and thereby wins the confidence of all. He knows through intuition (wijdan) or inspiration the truth about submission to God and the laws which originate from such a state, the utility of those laws, the disadvantages of sins etc. This knowledge about the above keeps safe from the actual perpetration of sins.

The new guide always begins his reforms with the customs or usages already known to the people which in course of time have either been abandoned or exist in a distorted state. He reintroduces them in the original form, and as a support to his preachings he quotes the words of the past guides whom the people hold in reverence. By gradual steps he leads them to the real basic principles of his mission—the significance of *Good and Evil* The followers judge the authenticity, worth and true effect of the words of the leader by their experience, reason or intuition (Wijdan). The extra-ordinary feats of the guide provide the people with sufficient proof for the true nature of his guidance. Also by his unselfish deeds and sympathic acts he always endears himself to all of them and everyone loves to follow him with great pleasure.

55. Significance of Prophethood.

Divine Guidance or *Tadalli* descends upon the earth in different forms suited to the time and environments Prophethood is the human form of that guidance. Its chief purpose is to awaken in the people the sense or responsibility towards God and the human beings, which owing to their ignorance lies dormant in them.

For such guidance, only the Intellectuals (Mufahhimin) are invariably selected whose temperament by nature is moderate, just between the two extremes, who are neither too deep thinkers to be unable to pass from the whole to the part, or

form the soul to the body ; nor too dull to proceed from the body to the soul. Their manners and behaviour always inspire confidence and respect. They plan for the general good and they for the execution of their plan receive divine support which is often manifest in their words and deeds.

The Intellectuals can be classified in accordance with their capacities or their spiritual strength, into several categories. The important in them are :—

1 *Kamil* or perfect : Kamil is an Intellectual who receives revelations direct from God by which he disciplines his own self and that of others.

2. *Hakim* (Wise) is one who is inspired with the knowledge concerning social and ethical development of the people.

3. *Khalifa* (Ruler) is one who with the support of divine revelations administers justice among the people.

4. *Mu'ayyad bi Ruhil Qudus.* (Inspired by the Pure Soul): Muayyad is one who always contacts the angels and receives due information from them in regard to his own religious belief or conviction and shows miracles to others.

5. *Hadi'i Muzakki* (Purified Guide) is that person whose heart is illuminated by the divine light and with that he influences the hearts of the people, and leaves the same light among his followers as a legacy.

6. *Imam* or leader is one who receives divine knowledge for the religious reforms, whose efforts are mostly directed towards the revival of the obliterated religious customs.

7. *Mundhir* (Warner) : He is one who is entrusted with the task of informing the people about the difficulties and comforts destined for them in the world, grave and after Resurrection, as a punishment or reward for their deeds.

8. *Nabi* (Messenger) : Nabi is an Intellectual who leads the people from the darkness of faithlessness to the light of faith, teaches them the right method of worship of and obedience to God, and contacts the angels of the higher heaven as a support to his mission. His position is higher than any of the fore-mentioned guides. For the others are sent with one particular purpose, whereas a Nabi comes to revolutionise the entire society. He brings a book with him for perpetual guidance. The Prophet Muhammad was the guide of the last type, who introduced a new faith, and revolutionised the human society.

The real form of guidance is settled in the Haziratul Qudus (Encirclement of Purity), and as stated above, it descends upon the earth according to the need of the time, or whenever God wanted any change in the society of a country or continent. For instance, the Prophets Musa, Da'ud Sulaiman, and others came with definite ideas for reforms needed in their respective periods.

The position of a prophet is analogous to that of a physician sent by the king to administer medicine to his ailing servants The physician explains the advantages of the medicines and persuades the patients to take the dose. Sometimes he finds it advisible to put sugar too in it to make it a bit tasteful. The miracles which a prophet performs sometimes is just similar to the sugar coating of a pill. A miracle is not actually an integral part of the prophethood.

There are three causes of the appearance of a miracle :—

1. *Granting of Prayer*. Sometimes prophet needs something and he prays for it which is granted. This appearance of the thing which was apparently impossible becomes a miracle. At the time of war, the army of the Prophet appears to the enemy more numerous than their own, or larger than the actual number of soldiers. Or by the prayer of the Prophet the thing actually looks bigger than what it is. The secret of this is, that the ideal power enters the airy matter of the thing and makes it look bigger.

2. The Prophet starts his mission single handed. But

through the help of the angels he defeats all the hostile forces, and fulfils his mission. It is in fact a miracle.

3. Due to certain external causes some extra-ordinary events take place in the sphere of Existence. These events appear as the miracles of the Prophet. For instance, the prophet becomes aware of same events, informs the people about them who take measures to stop the effect of those events and remain safe therefrom.

A Prophet is *innocent* for three reasons ;—

1. He knows the worth of the Good and the vice of the Evil through Wahyi (revelation), and his confidence in his knowledge does not let him falter from the right path.
2. He is by nature free from all impure urges or aptitudes and tendencies, especially those which interfere with the limitation (hudud) of the Shariah.
3. God blocks the path lying between himself and his worldly desires.

It is the duty of the Prophet to prevent his followers from pondering over the person (dhat) and attributes of God because every one has not the power to understand them. He should always talk to the people in a language which is easy for any one to understand. Otherwise his mission will not be fulfilled as it is necessary. Also he should only preach the thing which directly concerns the discipline of the Nafs and social development of the nation. It is not necessary for him to make the preachings highly scientific or philosophical. He need not discuss with the people astronomic information, atmospheric changes, geological or biological wonders, or the causes of the daily occurences. It does not matter if some casual references are made to these topics in the course of other discussions about the gifts of God.

In fact, the prophets have always avoided such discussions of higher sciences and have therefore succeeded in their missions. But there have yet been people who owing to

perverted senses refused to listen to the words of the prophets or having listened interpreted them in their own way.

56. Unity of Origin and Diversity of Faiths :

Fundamental principles of all religions are the same; it is only in details that they differ from one another. The Path revealed to Muhammad is the same which was preached by the Prophets Noah, Ibrahim, Moses and Christ. The difference in details is due to the difference of environments, and capacity of the people.

It has been stated in the fore-going chapter that the main purpose of a religion is to make the people or nation conscious of their responsibility to the Creator and the fellow beings. But in the fulfilment of these responsibilities, local condition and other circumstances play an important part. Each religion stands for the Unity of God, and submission to Him But each prophet fixed his own method which he thought was suitable for the people for expression of the belief. The method (Shari-ah) introduced by Christ is different from that of Moses and of Muhammad different from others, and so on In the time of Moses the people turned their faces towards Baitul Maqdas (Jerusalem); but Muhammad changed it to Ka'aba. In the same manner, there is difference in the form, modes, and time of worship too. although the real object of the worship in every form is always the same-seeking the pleasure of the Lord.

In fact, modes of worship and other duties and commands of every Shariah are always in line with the natural feelings and tendencies of the masses for which they are meant. It is for this reason that the execution of these commands affects the faculties of the executors leaving invariably a lasting impression. And it is for these impressions which persist that man gets his rowards or punishments, in the life-after-death.

Those modes have been fixed for the sake of uniformity and discipline. If every one were left to take his own course, the people would have resembled the herds of beasts, or the group of blind men trying to get at their indtended objects.

Shariah in reality is a treatment for the soul of man prescribed by the divine physician according to the condition of the disease and the temperament of the patient. It includes

permissions and prophibitions just as a physician prescribes.

57. Forms of Revelation Varied

As the laws of Shariah are related directly to the condition and needs of the people, there are differences in the permission and propibitions. There were certain things which were made unlawful for one nation as the time demanded, but later on by another prophet they were made lawful because the earlier demand did not there. For instance, flesh of camel was unlawful for the Israelies, but Muhammad made it lawful for his followers, for it could make a special diet for the Arabs who possessed camel in large number. The prophet Ya'kub owing to his illness had made camel's flesh unlawful for himself, which was late on fixed as a general rule. Now there was no cause left for its continuance as unlawful so it was made lawful again.

Also in the form of execution of any duty, the habits and customs of the people are kept in view, and permissions and prohibitions are usually based on it. The followers of Noah were physically strong and stout, so constant fasting was considered imperative for them. But that was not possible to do for the followers of Muhammad ; hence the order was cancelled.

In short there are two bases of a Shariah :

1. *Natural basis.* That is, the commands are revealed according to the natural inclinations of the people. The progeny of Ishaq was naturally aversive to the flesh of a camel. So it was made unlawful. Besides, the customs and habits which become the people's second nature are also kept in view. The commands concerning mutual relations ever based on the customs already prevalent among the people. The prophet only interferes with the custom and habits which are contrary to the human nature.

2. *Will of God.* If God wants to introduce certain new things in the social order, or a new shariah on a certain model then the Prophet issues commands according to it. But the people are gradually prepared for such a thing. When the

proper time for the introduction of a shariah arrives, God sends a Prophet for the purpose. It is just like the spring when sowing of seeds is enough to make the crop grow up. The Prophets with the new shariah have the divine support by which they succeed in bringing the nations or peoples to the fold of the new faith without any difficulty. When the Prophet Muhammad started his mission, the time was quite suitable for the new shariah and it spread far and wide easily

The time in fact, was, so favourable, that the Prophet did not encourage his followers to ask any question concerning the commands, because he feared the enquiry might result in any new command. Just as in spring any seed may grow up which is not actually wanted in the garden.

58. Punishment for Violation of Shariah.

The question is whether the punishment is arranged for sinner on the principles of '*Good and Evil*' or simply on the forms of Good and Evil. This question can be put in another way. For instance, person misses a prayer, but in his heart he is quite submissive and humble towards his Creator. Will he be punished for his slip. Then there is another person who performs his prayer according to prescribed method but has no humility or submissiveness in his heart ; will he be rewarded ?

This question has been answered in various ways The theologians are more particular about the outward performances of the commands of the shariah, and they leave the heart to the care of God. But the philosophers of Islam, take note of the quality of the thing rather than the outward form of it. In fact, according to Shah Wali Allah both the groups are partly right.

The fact is, there are rational bases for all the commands of the shariah according to which one command is in a way preferable to the other. The real reason for the preference of it would naturally be the quality of the thing. The actual forms of the commands of the shariah are the symbolic expressions of certain idea which were there in the *will of God* in eternity. The expression usually leads to the actual idea, as the word stands for the meaning. But what is the difference between the

word and the meaning? In fact, both are identical, one and the the same. In the same way, the outward expression of the command is no other than the command itself. That is the thing what was decided in the Haziratul Qudus before the commands were revealed to the Prophet.

This fact (secret), that the shriah and principles are identical, is known to every one. Shah Wali Allah names this knowledge *Wujud shabihan lil madlul* (Entity leading to the original thing). This entity has strange effects some of which have been taken account of in the shariah. For instance, the *sadaqa* (charity) is regarded as an impurity out of the impurities of the giver (*i.e.* by it the giver is cleared off his impurities), or the evil of the deed passes into its earnings. That is, any money earned by evil means (gambling) carry with it proportionate evil. The prayers of the prophets who propagate to preach shariah or commands of God among the people carry with them the material for its acceptance by God. If they ask for anything, it appears before them without delay.

Now it has become clear that the forms of the commands are not different from the commands themselves. So when any commands are obeyed or disobeyed they have their due effects (naturally of course) upon the soul of the man If a man misses the prayer or violates any command, it is quite clear that his faith is not free from defects. Or when any person performs his prayers regularly, even though he has other affairs of the world to look into, it is to be presumed that he is doing for the sake of God only.

Now, if any person happens to miss his prayer, he should actually analyse the cause which has withheld him from the performance of this important duty. If he is successful in finding out the real thing that stands in the way of fulfilment of his duty, he will try to remove it. Otherwise, the duty once missed will have its impression on the soul which will strength its animal faculty.

59. Secrets of (Hikam) Reasons and ('Illat) Causes of Commands.

There are certain deeds which please God and there are still others which displease Him. He has made this thing clear

in the shariahs, and has granted the people an opportunity to choose for themselves the course of action.

Now, the permission and prohibition in the shariah are given according to pleasure and displeasure of God. There are certain other deeds which are left to the discretion of the doer, as they please God according to their effects.

We can analyse the nature of the deeds in the following manner :

Wajib (Obligatory). They are the deeds which must be performed, otherwise one shall be punished.

Mustabab It is an act which if done will have the reward, but if not done no punishment will follow it.

Mubah If done causes neither pleasure nor displeasure of God. It is left to the discretion of the people to do it or not. If any of them is done just to do any harm to anyone, due punishment will follow.

Makruh (disagreeable). It is an act which if not done will have its reward.

Haram (Unlawful) If done will cause the displeasure of God, and a heavy punishment will follow.

In fact, in making anything lawful, the physical condition of the person or people or peoples intended has been kept in view ; or the real nature of the thing, or in some cases both the condition and the nature of the person and the thing are taken into consideration. For instance, prayer and fasting are compulsory for the adults, but not for the children or the sick. In the prohibition of the liquor the quality of the thing and the effects are taken into account. Gold and Silk are made unlawful for emales. It is so, because the gaudiness which gold and silk display is not suitable for males, but it makes the female look decent and attractive (which they actually desire).

In short, the things are made lawful not without any tangible reason. They cause pleasure and displeasure of God,

because they are either good or bad for the society, or concern directly with the commands or Shar-iah which He has revealed as the basis for social actions.

60. Motives behind Duties (Fara'd), Essentials (Arkan), and Devoirs (Adab) :

When any duty is made obligatory for any people, it is necessary that it should be explained to them in all its details; otherwise it may not be properly performed. The duties in all their details as prescribed or assigned are always within the physical means of every one.

Thus each duty in Islam is split up into various parts so that it may be easily understood. First Part is the definition of the duty. That is, what it is, when it is to be performed, and by whom. For instance, in the case of fasting, it is defined that it is to remain without food during the day between such hours, and so on etc Its second part is '*Arkan*' (Essentials) like Takbir and Fatiha in prayer without which the duty has no value. The third part is shariat (conditions) as ablution before the prayer or Ka'ba for the direction (at the time of prayer).

A rukn or essential is fixed for the reason of its personal or natural state or for its outward form. For instance, bending (Ruku'), prostration (Sajdah) are made essential because these are the best forms of expression of obedience.

The conditions (Sharait) like the Essentials are the integral part of the duty, because they give grace to it, and enable the performer to concentrate his attention on the real object. The Ka'ba is one of the signs of God, so it has been included in the duty as a condition, that everyone will turn his face towards it while in prayer.

If the duties are performed with the arkan and Sharait they fulfil the object of an ordinary obedience, or obedience by the common people. Yet there is another form of obedience-extra-ordinary obedience both in quality and quantity. But it is meant for the selected few, because all people do not have the capacity to perform it.

The extraordinary obedience includes extra night (Tahajjad) prayer, fasting for three days in every month, paying of alms

as an obligatory duty, developing in oneself the qualities of Purity Such ascetics have to resist with a will the interference of the devil which appears to direct their attention from the worship of God.

61. Time for Accomplishing Duties.

Organisation of a nation can not be complete unless there is a time fixed for each of its duty. It is on that account that the prayer, fasting, pilgrimage have definite-time specified for each one of them.

The facts which stand as the basis of these fixations and which are known to all divinely inspired persons are recounted here. (1) There are certain moments when God (though He is far above space and time) gets nearer to human beings During these moments divine mercy and kindness prevail all sides of the universe. Indeed such a time would be more suitable for accomplishing duties towards God.

These special moments have particular qualities of grace with them. One is attached to the time which comes by rotation at certain hours of the day and the night. So the prayers are fixed at different hours. According to Shah Wali Allah these gracious moments come just before sun rise, immediately after sun-set, a little after mid day, and during the later half of the night. The other variety of divine grace manifests itself once in a week, especially at a particular time on Friday. So, the day has been fixed for congregational prayer. There is still another variety which appears once in a year and that is during the month of Ramdan. It is due to that grace the month is fixed for worship and fasting.

During these times, the animal faculty, the chief source of trouble in man, can be brought under the control of the angelic self merely by smallest effort. The angels of heaven know the appearance of the grace and ideal power (Quwwat-i-Mithalia), not from the rotation and revolution of the earth and the heaven, but by their intution (Wijdan wa dhauq). They communicate the news to the prophets, who detail religious duties accordingly to it. Shah Wali Allah had personal experience of seeing the effects of worship performed during these moments.

(2) The best time for performing religious duties is that when man is free from all physical requirements or troubles such as hunger, thirst, overwhelmed with sleep, or laziness, or mentally disturbed by foolish talks and so on. Though the state of every man varies according to his physique and habits, yet all the people have considered it proper to specify time for these requirements. So, the time for the prayers are fixed when human beings are quite free from those needs.

Also, if there is a time fixed for all duties, one can regulate the performance of them. In this state one would be either praying, or waiting or preparing for the prayer. That is, he is constantly in a state of worship.

(3) Man has to worship God when reminded of His gifts and bounties bestowed on him, inividually or with others. The Prophet Moses fasted on the tenth of Muharram as a mark of gratitude for the victory God had granted him over the Pharoah. The greatest gift of God ever granted to a prophet, was revealed in the month of Ramdan. So the month has been fixed as a period for worship of God, giving of alms to the poor at the time of Id and for other celebrations.

The times fixed for worship in Islam are based very much on the same principles as they were in the times of others prophets.

62. Secrets of Number and Measures

The number and measure which shariah has assigned to each duty have their own merits and motives. Although the quantity or the burden of any responsibility is fixed in accordance with the capacity of the person called upon to bear, yet for it certain other factors too are taken into consideration.

(1) An odd number is liked by God ; the duties therefore have mostly odd numbers. The secret of attachment of God to an odd number is, that all plurality (kathrat) has its origin in Unity (wahdat) and an odd number is always closer to unity than an even one. Every number has ever have an unreal unity (wahdat-i-ghair haqiqi) in it which is a reflection of the real unity (wahdat-i-haqiqi). The odd number alongwith

this unity has another characterisitic, that it is not divisible by two. So any number closer to its origin will also be closer to the origin of all origins (*i.e.* God).

The odd numbers are of various types : some are quite similar to the even numbers in certain respects as they can be divided into different other numbers-but always odd results. For instance, number *nine* can be split up into three threes. But there are other odds, such as three, five, seven ; they are nothing but aggregate of three and five and seven unities respectively. The Prophet Muhammad has preferred the number 1,3,7, to others If he selected any other number that was only the one which could be obtained by multiplying these three numbers by 10, 100, or 1000. The Prophet asked the recitation of the Kalima for one hundred times after every prayer, which means three times thirty three and one (one) the last one serving as the imam or wasi' (leader or successor).

In the same manner, for every category (maqula) of substance and accident (jauhar and arad) there is a leader. Point, for example is the imam of a circle or sphere, to which it is closer than other forms. Shah Wali Allah's father informed him that on a certain occasion Division Attributes (Eternal Life-Khowledge. Will) or Names, appeared before him in the form of bright circles. Also he informed him that any abstract thing takes a form which is similar in shape to a point. As a rule manifestation of unity in the sphere of plurality is always dependent on some connections and relations with the world of Similitude, and it is by these connections alone that an interpreter of these events can offer an explanation.

2. Sometimes the figures or degrees have been used only to signify large or small quantity to persuade or frighten the followers. For instance, the Prophet says, the qualities of good and bad deeds were presented to him, and he found the best" of all was to remove any stone from the path, and "the worst" was spitting in the mosque and leaving it uncovered. In another hadith the figure of forty has been used in the sense of large for the sake of emphasis. In another hadith "prayer with the jama'at is twenty seven times better than the one performed alone" number twenty seven is given for large quantity as it was used in the same sense. The advantages of these details were revealed to the Prophet for the benefit of all.

3. The number for measure (in case of payment of zakat) or quantity is always simple from the view point of calculation. The number seven, seventeen or nineteen or difficult decimal fractions have never been used. In connection with zakat (poor tax) only the fractions one tenth, one fifth, or one fortieth have been given, which are quite easy for calculation.

63. Lapses and Concessions

When any religious commands are given it is essential for the leaders to urge the followers to obey them in all details. The successors of the Prophet Muhammad were actually very particular about the observance of all the duties in the manner they were prescribed. The actual reason for this emphasis is that in this way the Nafs would get accustomed to these commands.

Nafs, as a matter of fact, is like a wild beast and its taming needs sufficient labour and regular practice. Once it begins to miss any command it does not stop there. Gradually it gets control over the body and diverts it away from the right actions.

But still, God does not intend any hardship for human beings. Some allowances have been made for the slip that may occur in the non-essential parts of the duty.

There are three main principles on which these allowances are based :—

1. In every command there are certain essentials which must in all cases be observed. Because without them the main object of the command remains unachieved. For instance, in prayer ruku' (bending), sujud (prostration) du'a (invocation) must not be missed, for by them alone the real spirit of the prayer is preserved. It is only in the shrait (conditions) which are included for the sake of perfection of the duty, that some concession have been given. For instance, if water is not available one can perform the prayer by tayammam (rubbing dust on hands etc.) ; or if one is not able to stand up, he can perform the prayer by sitting.

2. The general rule is that in case of lapse the substitute should be a reminder of the original. The (masah-rubbing) of the leather socks is necessary for that reason.

3. The concessions are made under certain circumstances which are quite common among the people. In journeys one can shorten one's prayer ; but that concession is not given to a labourer although in his case too the same difficulty of engagement may arise. Indeed such a concession in general observance of duties would have in trouble in the interpretation and application of it. A man on journey must shorten his prayer whether he finds it quite easy to perform the whole.

The object of the prayer, as stated above, is to express obedience to God and develop reverence for Him in mind. But if anyone is not able to create such a spiritual state, owing to lack of will and concentration of mind, he should not be pressed for it. Gradually he can achieve such a stage. In fact, if a sleeping person, a child and anyone who is mentally unhinged miss prayers they are not obliged to answer for their lapses.

64. Establishing Social Laws and Reforms of Customs

It has been discussed in detail in the chapter on Irtifaqat (Social Development) that man is distinguished from other species of his genus (animal) for his inclination towards group life based on mutual sympathy and cooperation. Also group life depends on the foundation of '*customs*'. Or in other words, customs to the society are like heart to the body, deterioration in the state of one affects adversely the state of the other. It is just for this reason that the prophets in order to fulfil their mission try their utmost to eradicate bad customs and introduce good ones. According to report, the Prophet Muhammad said that he was sent to remove evil sources of pleasure (maghazih) and that he came only to perfect good manners.

It is not the ilil of God that the social development should stop, the people be split up into individuals and retire to mountain caves and lead lonely life there. If this takes place the real purpose of life would be lost. Nor does God want that a group should lead such a life, that inequality and injustice may be predominant features of it. That is, it is not the will of God that a large section should work for the selected

1. Tayammam : to intend, to rub dust on hands and face and face as a substitute for ablution.

few. God wants that all people must have appropriate means for pursuing their vocation and living happily.

The Prophet Muhammad who is the messenger of God to carry out his will, (i) introduced good customs covering all the phases and activities of life including a code of law dealing with reward of the obedient and punishment of the disobedient. He fixed (ii) a particular method and time for worship. He did not make any extra-ordinary changes in the old customs prevalent among the people. He only removed the defective parts of them.

Inequality in the social status, and lack of facilities for the enjoyment of one's labour is the greatest defect in the society. When a selected few exploit and oppress a large section of the society, it becomes essential on the part of Divine Will to bring about a change in it. Before the advent of the Prophet Muhammad the ruling classes of Persia and Rome led a very dissolute and extravagant life. The poor labourers and craftsmen had to work like beasts of burden in order to provide means of pleasure for the nobles. In spite of the helpless condition of the poor, the feudal lords demanded more and more from them of their labour and money. The prophet came and introduced a new social code based on divinely inspired principles and brought about ruin of the societies of Persia and Rome.

65. Inference from the Commands

The Prophet Muhammad was revealed with the message from God to be delivered to the people, which consisted of 'the method of worship, principles of good and evil, and the means of social development. And also he was instructed to preach among the people-anything relating to three things given above. The traditions of the Prophet mostly deal with these 'relative things'-*i.e*, they are in a way elucidation of the commands.

God has fixed certain course for daily life of man-kind, and to violate that course is tant mount to a challenge to God and violence to humanity. Now it is the duty of the prophet to ban all things related to that violation. For instance, there is a definite process designed by nature for the birth of man, and as a support to that process, God has created sex urge in every

human beings and mutual attraction between male and female. As a precaution against interference with this process, the Prophet banned celebacy, castration, any change in the physical form and any other unnatural vice relating to sex.

In the same manner, there are natural courses for social development and for means of earning livelihood. So, the Prophet prohibited all what was likely to prove as an obstruction to the people in their daily life. He banned false oaths, false evidences, and violation of mutual agreements.

When a command is revealed to a Prophet, alongwith it the actual cause ('illat) of it is also revealed. The Prophet can issue other commands as corollary to the original command) based on that 'illat. Also, as a thing is made obligatory for the people, it is essential that all the obstacles standing in the way of fulfilling it should be removed. When zakat was made obligatory, the people were instructed not to misbehave with the collectors. Or if anything is declared unlawful, all other things, having any connection with it must be banned, otherwise the command cannot be obeyed effectively. The liquor was made haram for its bad effects its business and distilling was also declared against the shariah. As any kind of quarrel or harsh words are a sin at the time of disturbances, the wearing of arms then is also unlawful.

Again, if any duty is fixed for anyone it would be more advantageous for all if the reward of the obedient and the punishment for the disobedient is also mentioned. As it was desired that the recitation of the Quran be encouraged, the best of the recitors was accorded a higher place and greater reverence.

In short, the ahadith of the Prophet contain the commands derived by inferences only from the original commands revealed to him.

66. Definition of the Ambiguous ; Distinction between two Similar Terms.

There are certain terms in the commands which when considered in their details become very ambiguous. For instance, the term '*Theft*' in relation to the command 'Cut the hand of a thief, male or female', becomes rather difficult to interpret. Theft in the general sense is to take possession by

any means of any thing which does not belong to one. Now there are many ways of taking possession, it can be by stealing, snatchig by force, misappropriation, swindling, or picking pocket or simply picking up from the road. Sometimes the thing is of no value which is taken possession of by force or otherwise. Would the hand be cut for mere a trifling ? The Prophet made the term sarqa (theft) clear by stating that the stolen thing should be taken possession of secretly from the property of some one else, and be above the value of three dirhams. He forbade the application of the same law to dishonesty, picking pocket and snatching.

Luxury (rafahiyyat-i-baligha) has also the similar difficulty. There are certain natural courses for enjoying a thing which of course cannot be unlawful. Luxury in the words of the Prophet is to select the best of all the things and reject the other at the expense of other members of the society. The Persians and Romans lived in magnificient palaces, enjoyed most delicious dishes and wore luxuriant and gaudy dresses. This had made the labouring classes to work like asses and oxen and left no leisure for them to enjoy their own labour or to think about their moral development. The selection of the best things by the feudal lords of Persia and leaving of them the worst for others created deep gulf which ultimately reached unnatural dimensions The Prophet in order to remove this defect from the society prohibited the use of all luxuriant things, like silk, gold and silver utensil or ornaments. He also banned any thing concerned with these luxuriant habits.

Marriage, in reality, is meant for the continuance of the race, and also to meet the sex urge created by God in every man. But the same object can be achieved by zanah (fornication or adultery) or illegitimate connections. The Prophet thought it essential to make the distinctions between the two things clear. Men by nature are conscious of self-respect ; and an illegimate connection with the females of another family is considered by every man as a challenge to his self-respect. So he will do all to stop it or to avenge it. Thus there is a possibility of great disorder in the society Marriage therefore was made a sacred institution to be respected by all, which should take place in the presence of the whole community and the sacrament be announced to all. It should also take place with the due consent of the parties concerned, otherwise it would not be successful.

The significance of the term safar (journey) was also not clear. The command is that while on journey one should shorten ones prayer. A man out of his house is evidently on journey. Should he shorten his praper only when he is just a mile from his home? That does not sound reasonable. The Prophet made the term clear by giving a definite significance to it. He said the concession is meant for long journey only, *i.e.*, after one has travelled at least four burd (forty eight miles) from his native place or from his permanent residence (and has intention to stay there).

67. Simple Nature of the Commands

God advised the Prophet Muhammad to be polite while preaching his religion; because if he behaved harshly the people would not feel attracted towards him; and that God himself wished comfort rather than any difficulty for them. So, the Prophet started his mission with easy and simple things quite known to the Arabs. Even to his envoys sent to other provinces of Arabia, he gave special instructions that they should not create difficulties for the tribes-men.

Thus the Prophet introduced duties which were physically possible for all to be performed. He did not make brushing of the teeth compulsory for the prayers because he knew that it was not practically possible. He introduced certain duties in the form of custom or usuage (like 'id or Jum' a) so that the performance should be an occasion for çelebration and source of pleasure.

The commands, one and all, are such that every one naturally feels inclined to them; that is, they are just in accordance with the natural feelings. Taking bath on Fridays, use of scents, wearing of clean dress, keeping houses of worship spick and span and so on, are made approvable (mustahab) because they are the things which the heart desires. Then, the Prophet, as he introduced any new duty, practiced it himself which made his orders more effective.

The efforts of the Prophet were directed toward raising the standard of the society; any difference in positions would have led to disorders.

The command which demanded a little hardship from the followers was not introduced at once, but by gradual steps. To him at first the suras describing the pleasures of Heaven and horrors of Hell were revealed, so that the people could get the idea of the post-death life Thereafter he gave the definition of obedience and disobedience which enable human beings to get Heaven or Hell. Then the command was introduced. For instance, the liquor which had got into the life of the Arabs as an integral part, was banned only by gradual steps. If it were prohibited all at once, the Arabs would have felt difficult to give it up.

He left ordinary duties or conditions of the duties such as ablution, bath, to the common sense of the followers. When poor tax (zakat) became obligatory, he made the minimum amount to be charged as two hundred dirhams, so that the poor may not be subjected to any difficulty, because the poor live from hand to mouth.

In short, the Prophet approached the people not in his own way, but in their own way. Spoke to them in their simple language, and introduced things which they liked to do.

68. Secrets of Persuation and Fright

It is quite natural that if hopes and fears had not accompanied the commands, few would have cared to follow them with any earnestness. Prayer, for example, appears heavy to the idlers. but to those who wish to meet God, it is a source of great pleasure. The jurists among the friends of the Prophets referred in brief to the principles governing these persuations (hopes) and dreads (fears) ; they did not however try to explain them.

It has been discussed elsewhere, that the deeds of whatever nature have their effect on the soul of the doer alone or the community in general in this world, or the doer in the world to come. For instance, if husband and wife live happily, it would be good for them as well as for the society But on the other hand, if their relations are strained, the repurcussions will be felt in the whole society (or at least in the group directly attached with them) and a kind of disorder is likely to ensue from it. And if on account of their strained

relations they try to do some immoral acts, their souls would be darkened. So in order to check untoward consequences of the deeds, *targhib* (hopes) and *tahrib* (fears) would be essential features of the duties.

There are various ways of persuation (targhib) and frightening (tahrib), of which the following are the most important :

(1) The effect of the deed or action should be clearly explained to the people.

(2) It should also be stated how the effect of a good deed protects one from the intrusions of the devil. If a man is lost in the love of a thing, the thing and the man get themselves united, by means of a link of 'love'. So, a lover of God gets united with Him by Love. The angels pray for him and as a result of it he secures a higher place among them. Indeed it is an effective persuation.

3. The deed in itself contains the cause of reward and punishment, as the act of performing ablution is a cause for purity of the body and has its effect on the Nafs, the love or hatred for anything too take the form of reward or punishment in the world to come. For instance, the man who kills himself with a piece of iron or poison will be punished with the similar forms ; or the one who gives garments to the needy would wear nice garments in the next world.

4 Or in the deed the form of persuation or dread is the pleasure or displeasure of God. So, the people who know the value of the pleasure of God be persuaded to do such acts.

69. **Grades of Muslims on the Basis of Spiritual Attainments :**

1. It has already been given in a preceding chapter that the intellectuals (Mufahhimin) rank the highest in all the grades of the spiritualists. They are the messengers of God and founders of religions.

2. After them comes the number of the Sabiqin (the fore-runners) They are of two classes :

(*i*) *Ashabul I tilah* (the people of peace) : They possess the capacity of the Intellectuals for attaining spiritual perfection ; but owing to circumstances they fail to reach as high as the former In reality, Ashabul Istilah need some help like the preachings of the prophets to stir up their dormant capacity On awakening of it, they take to acquisition of knowledge of Divinity for which they have a natural aptitude and talents. They are, in fact, the investigators of religion (mujtahidin fi) madhhab).

(*ii*) Ashabul Tajadhab (mystics) : By God's help they absorb themselves completely in the worship (riadat) and subjugate their animal faculty. They experience the Truth by their perfect knowledge and sincere and perfect practice. They have thorough look into their affairs and receive information of and guidance towards Divine Events. They can also achieve mystic perfection in its real form.

The above given two classes are further divided into various sub-classes of which the following are most important :-

(*a*) ***Siddiqun*** **(trustworthy) :**

It is a class of worshipers distinguished from others for the care they take in following the Truth.

(*b*) *Shuhada* (martyrs) they are guides of the people. They approve good deeds, disapprove bad ones, and by their efforts give strength to the faith. They help a prophet to fulfil his mission.

(*c*) *Rasikh fil'ilm* (learned people) : It is a class of people who possess sound intelligence by which they develop, indeed through the help of the prophet, capacity for attaining perfection. This capacity in turn helps their inner self (batin) in understanding the real significance of the scriptures.

(*d*) '*Abbad*' (Obedient) : Who see the spirit of worship quite manifest before their eyes. Their souls are lit up with the light of obedience. Their hearts (Af'idah) are given sharp reason (fahim) by which they can devote themselves to the worship of God.

(*e*) *Zuhhad* (Ascetics) : are the people who have complete confidence in the rewards and pleasure of the world to come, and have no care for the pleasure of this world.

(*f*) *Musta'idun likhilafat* (Caliphs) : They are the people who have developed in themselves the attribute of '*Adalat*' (Justice, Moderation) and with its help worship God and carry out Divine Commands.

(*g*) Ashabu Khulaqi Hassan : *i.e.* people of polite manner.

(*h*) Mushtabihun bil Mala'ika : that is the people who are pure like angels.

3. Next to the Sabiqin are the Ashabul Yamin (Rightists). They are also of various classes.

(*i*) The premier group of them consists of the ascetics whose souls are like the souls of the Sabiqin, but they fail to develop the qualities they are capable of due to some reasons.

(*ii*) Ashabul Jadhb (The Distracted) They are the people whose angelic faculty is weaker than the animal. So it is only after having undergone hardships (riadat) that they can get the knowledge of the Truth, and rank themselves with the angels of the lower degree.

(*iii*) Arbab-i-Istilah (men of Peace). Their angelic and animal faculties are engaged in waza'if (extra religious duties) and succeed to some extent in getting the knowledge of the Truth. By continuous worship they get the outward manifestation of good attributes impressed on their souls. Some of them are free from the influence of the disposition (Tabi'at) hope for the good and fear the evil for the sake of God. Some people of this class, avoid pleasure of the world just because cannot afford them. There are some among them who have the angelic qualities flashed across their soul ; but they are not aware of it.

(*iv*) Ashabul A'raf (people of purgatory) : This class can be divided into two sub-sections :

(a) Section one consists of the people who are of pure nature but are ignorant of the message of the Prophet. Yet their nature does not let them indulge in mean and absurd activities. They cannot pay any attention towards God, busy as they are in their worldy engagements. After death they are to remain in a state of blindness until their animal power is totally annihilated.

(*b*) The other section consists of the people of immature and imperfect wisdom, such as small children or insane or illiterate or slaves.

4. Besides the above mentioned classes of believers there are classes of the non-believers, *viz.*, the hypocrites (Munafiqin), the mischievous (Fasiqin), and the infidels (Kuffar).

(*i*) The hypocrites possess sufficient capacity to achieve spiritual objects; but owing to their indulgence in the affairs of the world they are not able to avail of their talents Their love for delicious dishes, women, and mutual grudge has practically darkened their discretion and they cannot therefore distinguish right from wrong.

(*ii*) The mischievous (Fasiqin) are the people who are much swayed by their evil deeds. Their thoughts are distracted and expression is wild. They are like the person who has developed a habit of eating clay or coal.

(*iii*) The infidels are the disobedient class who though possess sound reason yet refuse to listen to the message of God. Not only that They openly revolt against Him and urge others to do the same. They love to live this life in a pleasant manner and care but little for the life after death In fact, they are the people who are eternally damned.

70. Necessity of a Universal Faith

Religion, whatever it may be, is useful to the community or the people as long as it is followed by them in a way as preached by its founder. But it has been seen that with the change of time or environments or owing to incapable leadership many innovations crept into every religion which gradually out-grew the fundamental principles. It is quite natural, of course, that a religion meant for one people at a

particular period may not suit other people and time. It is therefore necessary that there should be a universal religion —a faith with the possibility of adaptation to all people and environments and also which would stand all the tests of time. Like a federal ruler (Khalifa) who has his authority over all acceded states, it should govern the general activities of the mind and the body of all.

The success of the initiators of such a universal faith would be ensured if he starts his mission with the group of people living in his immediate neighbourhood, and after careful education and purification of their souls, sends them off as torchbearers or fighters of the new faith, to all other nations. The real disciples of the initiator (Imam or Bani) form the 'best of the group', because the relgious perfection of other nations can be achieved through them.

In formulating the laws of such a universal shariah, only the general tendencies of humanity as a whole are kept in view. In fact, it is not possible to take a special care of all the habits and customs of all the peoples; for it would create only a confusion affecting the universality of the faith. What is most important in this respect is that there must not be any injuction impossible for any people to carry out.

Now, Islam introduced by the Prophet Muhammad is a religion adaptable to all nations of the temperate zones (Mu'tadil Aqalim) The Prophet educated and trained his followers and sent them off into the world to remove wrong beliefs and inequalities from the people. They fulfilled their mission by bringing about ruin of the two great empires (Roman and Persian) of the time. At his death, he left behind successors who could carry on his work as it was done in his life time.

Besides, Islam is superior to other religions for the following reasons :

(1) The necessary rites of the faith are clearly explained. Everyone knows the reasons for them and the way they are to be observed. For instance, calling of the *azan*, reverence for the mosque, daily prayers and Friday congregations stand in favour of Islam's superiority.

(2) Its laws are simple and can be understood by all without any difficulty. There is no deep philosophy underlying its fundamental principles.

Sword itself is seldom effective in bringing any people into the fold of a new faith. If any force is applied it is likely the converts may turn apostate as soon as the force is relaxed. The Prophet or his disciple should prove by evidences that the new faith is really superior to older faiths.

71. Tampering with Shariah

A religion which aims at universality must necessarily be too strong to allow any interference from any quarter. Its code of law must be free from any ambiguity and the commands be stated in distinct terms. And all measures should be taken against *tahrif* (tampering with it).

In fact, it is not possible to-recount all the causes which lead to tahrif A few, however, may be given here:

(1) Indifference towards observance of important commands (such as prayer). If the commands are not properly observed, they are gradually forgotten As the true knowledge of the commands falls into oblivion, the uneducated priests interpret them in their own way. With such a continuous negligence of the necessary rites, the people become so hardened in their hearts that it is not possible for the priests to bring them back to the faith.

2. Ta'ammuq (*i.e.* Reasoning), It is to apply a rule or command to a thing for which it is not meant. Or to regard all the acts of the Prophet (even those which he has done just by the way) as essential to be followed. The Prophet pointed out that the chief object of the *Fast* was to subdue one's animal self. So, some people regarded *Sahari* (eating in the morning) as a hinderance before the fulfilment of that object, and gave it up altogether. It was nothing but a clear tampering with the real injunction which makes sahari an essential part of the worship.

3. Tashaddud (Going to extreme): It is to take upon oneself some difficult practices which the Prophet has not intended in his injunction. Constant fasting, performing

prayers for all the time, renunciation of the world, celebacy and so on are clear violations of the shariah.

4. Istihsan : It is to find out the real purpose of the original command and change it to fit into ones own personal intentions. The jews believed that the restrictions were introduced by the Prophet for the purpose of reforms only. They therefore made changes in the forms of punishments. Stoning in the case of fornication was substituted by mere whipping, because they thought it was sufficient punishment for the crime.

5. Too much reliance on the ijma' (consensus of opinion) : To regard always the opinion of the group as correct without verifying it from other sources, and also to take the words of the elders as faultless, even when there is hadith against it, is tantamount to condradiction of the shariah.

6. Mixing up the new faith with the old ones : It is not safe to interpret the Quran in the light of old scriptures which have been mutilated and tampered with.

72. Difference between Islam and Judaism etc :

The real difference between the ancient Prophets and the Prophet Muhammad lay in the fact, that each of them was sent to a particular nation or people ; whereas the latter was sent as a guide to the whole world. His programme of reforms was adaptable to the society in general *i.e.*, the whole of mankind.

In fact, the fundamental principles of all the religions of the past were the same. They preached faith, the unity of God ; and invited the people to worship Him and be perfected in their souls. It was only in details that they differed from one another. Because their environment and times were not the same ; so, for the sake of adaptation, some change was essential.

The faith introduced by our Prophet with all its details is suitable for all the time to come and for all the nations of the world. There is little chance for the learned men to interfere with its commands because everything has been explained in

clear terms. No ambiguity of any kind has been left anywhere.

The shariah of Muhammad also made provision for a regular and systematic progress of the social and economic development of the people. It condemned unequivocally the inequality in every phase of human life which was in vogue in Rome and Persia.

73. Abrogation or Naskh :

Naskh is the abrogation of one command by another when the real purpose of it is fulfilled. The origin for the belief in the naskh of some verses or commands lies in the ayat (verse) "We do not abrogate or take away any verse, but we bring in another, a similar or a better one, in its place."

Naskh is of two kinds :

(*i*) The Prophet some time introduced a command but later on finding it unnecessary changed with another. The nabiz (syrup of dates) was made lawful at first, but later on finding it unsuitable for the society declared it unlawful It happend also that the command given by the Prophet was cancelled by the revelation from God.

(*ii*) Any verse bearing any special command was revealed for a definite purpose, and it was cancelled by another as the purpose was fulfilled. For instance, after the migration to Medina, as the Prophet and his friends settled down, the necessity demanded that the brothers could succeed to the property of the deceased. But later on this was cancelled in favour of the succession of the children Or in the beginning, the muslims were not allowed to fight against the infidels because of the latter's superior power. But as they gained power and sufficient strength, the former order was cancelled in favour of fighting against the infidels under certain conditions

74. Condition of Ancient Arabs and others.

The descendant of Ismail (Arabs) followed the shariah of Ibrahim until Umar bin Luhyi introduced idol worship among them. In course of time the true faith became concealed in the dark veils of falsehood.

The Arabs in the days of ignorance (Jahiliah) can be divided into two classes :

(*i*) Fasiqin and Zindiq : That is, infidels who knew the truth but confused it intentionally with falsehood.

The Arabs in the days of ignorance (Jahiliah) can be divided into two classes :—

(*i*) Fasiqin and Zindiq : That is, infidels who knew the truth but confused it intentionally with falsehood.

(*ii*) Indifferent and ignorant :

The former group consisted of people who committed unnatural vices and were born sceptical. Their scepticism did not let them understand the real worth of the new religion. They were swayed by their selfish desires and had no liking for the spiritual affairs.

The ignorant Arabs due to the remoteness of the age of the Prophets, had lost all knowledge concerning the true faith. They had some idea of the Creater of the Heaven and Earth, but they believed in the transfer of some authority from Him to the spirits who (as they thought) looked after the world and helped the worshipers of them. They believed that the angels were the daughters of God through whom He keeps Himself informed of the affairs of the world. They believed that the Prophets were sent from time to time and God communicated with them through the *wahyi* (angel-revelation).

They had also adopted some customs of the people of the Book (ahlul Kitab) They performed ablution before the prayer and had some form of prayer too. A system of zakat or poor tax which included hospitality towards strangers, help of the poor and the relatives, was in vogue among them. They were habituated to fasting between sun-rise and sun-set and performed pilgrimage to Ka'aba in a certain month.

Besides, they believed in magic and used to take omens from the arrows. They had their form of wearing dress,

1. Taking omens from arrows or divination was quite common among the Arabs of pre-Islamic days.

celebration of festivals, and the institution of marriage, divorce and special rites for death and burial.

In spite of all that, there was complete bankruptcy of morals. They had taken to brigandage and committed murders without the least hesitation. Marriage had actually deteriorated to a regular fornication and adultery.

The Prophet Muhammad purified all of their customs and rites, and gradually acquainted them with the real faith of Islam.

PART TWO

SEVENTH DISCUSSION

75. **Branches of 'Ulum un Nabi.** (Prophetic knowledge) : The information contained in the traditions of the Prophet is of two kinds :—

(1) That which concerns purely with his prophetic mission, comprising of ;

(*a*) details about life-after-death, and the sphere of angles ;

(*b*) forms of worship and social customs and habits ;

(*c*) good morals ;

(*d*) reward and punishment.

The Prophet received this information either through wahyi (revelation) direct from God, or learnt by his intuition or investigations. But this investigation too had divine support.

In the seventh discussion Shah Wali Allah had only dealt with the problems of Fiqh or Jurisprudence. This has also been published in a book form called "*Iqdul Jid*". In this section of the summary of the Hujjat I have given only some important chapters including notes from the remaining portion of the book which are relevant to the previous discussion. The second part of the book, as a matter of fact, is only a complement of the first part. There is nothing new therein from our point of view indeed it is of supreme interest to the student of Hadith.

(2) That which does not directly concern the prophetic mission. The Prophet sometimes discussed ordinary affairs of life with his companions, or did something merely out of habit or just by the way without any intention, but he did not do the same thing again. All these things have however been recorded in the books on Hadith. These words or acts were meant for that time only and were not meant for the coming generations to follow them.

76. Difference between Maslihat (Prudent Measure) and Shar'a (Definite Command) :

A prudent measure or maslihat deals only with the social and economic problems. There are no definite rules given by him about all these affairs. Of them he has spoken in general terms.

The maslihat also includes the four attributes (of Sa'adat) useful in the life-after-death ; efforts on the part of his followers to make the faith and organisation of the society strong.

(2) The Shariah consists of the commands regarding definite responsibilities of a man towards God and His fellow beings with the details of the means of their fulfilment. Under no circumstances these commands are to be violated. Its violation incurs displeasure of God and drives the man to Hell.

77. Derivation of Shariah From the Prophet :

The commands of the Shariah have been derived from the Prophet in two ways :—

(1) From his words (both revealed and others) such as the verses of the Quran or the hadith reported from him by reliable persons.

(2) Inference from his traditions The companions saw the Prophet doing anything or heard him saying anything from which they infered any definite command concerning certain affair.

Both the methods of derivation of the commands have been used by the learned men of all ages. But at times any of them by iteslf does prove sufficient. Sometimes the words of

the Prophet were not carried in their original form. Only the idea was transmitted from generation to generation. The truth of this idea can be verified by the application of the second method. Also, the inference based on personal interpretation can be wrong without the help of the first method.

78. How Expression Carries Sense :

Expressions in respect of sense are of various degrees. The one with the clear sense and without any ambiguity ranks as the best or the first. It carries the intention of the speaker to the mind of the listener in its original form. Next to this is the expression which carries a general sense, *e.g.* 'Annas' (the people), Qaum (Nation) ; or any substantive with a general or particular adjectives ; or any word with real and metaphorical sense. Then there is the expression like 'Safar' (Journey) which needs illustration for understanding its sense. Such an expression can be understood in three ways :

(*i*) Fahwa'i Kalam : From the context we can know the significance of the expression, although by itself it is not quite clear. For example, from "La taqulu lahuma-uffin" (لا تقولوا لهما أف) (don't scold of the two) the unlawfulness of the harsh treatment towards the parents becomes quite clear.

(*ii*) Iqtida : The word of expression bears any sense by custom, reason or shar'a, as *going* signifies that the man has his feet intact, or *salla* (praying) suggests that the person in prayer has performed ablution.

(*iii*) *Ima or reference* : An idea is expressed by an allusion or reference to any past event or thing etc. But such expressions are used in rhetorics.

Next to that is the generalisation of an idea from anything particular with reference to the topic of discussion, or particularising any general idea, *e.g* , All animals having nails in their paws are haram (unlawful). Wolf is an animal with nails in his paws. Wolf is therefore haram.

79. Taqlid or Blind Following :

Whether following one of the four schools of Fiqh (*viz* , Maliki, Shafi'i, Hanbali, Hanafi) is necessary or not, is a

question answered by different scholars in different ways. Some, of course, have agreed upon in favour of these schools because at this time the people have developed easy-going habits, are less energetic in regard to researches in the masa'il of Fiqh and are lost out and out in the selfish motives.

But in the opinion of Ibn Hazm, a great scholastic theologian of Spain, taqlid is not at all permissible. To follow anyone however great he may be, besides the word of God and the Prophet, is haram. All the companions and their successors held the same view.

Indeed, Ibn Hazm is right in his statement that why a man possessing sufficient knowledge of Hadith and talents for ijtihad (taking of inferences) should be particular about any shcools of Fiqh. Sheikh 'Azizuddin b'. Abdus Salam holds the same view, that one should reject the opinion of the Imam if one finds it contradictory to the genuine hadith. Imam Abu Shamah says that a student of Fiqh must not confine himself to a particular school. He should study every mas'ala in the light of the verses of the Quran and the genuine hadith. Imam Shaf'i has categorically denied the principle of taqlid. He advised his pupils not to act upon his verdict if it goes against any hadith.

The real position, as Shah Wali Allah opines, is that we should follow the path of the jurists because they are specialised in the subject: they possess more knowledge of hadith and the Quran than we do; and they have learnt by their investigations the original purpose of all commands and can apply them at their proper places. But our following of them should be conditional; that none of their opinion or verdict should ever go against any verse of the Quran and the hadith. If it contradicts any verse or hadith we have the right to reject it outright.

In this land it is essential for every Muslim to follow the Hanafite school because most of the people profess the same faith. It will keep them united and there will be no chances for religious differences.

80. Discussion of Ihsan

The Prophet has specially instructed his followers to take care of their deeds. For the deeds not only take their

origin from the Nafs (Soul) but also return to it after they are performed, and intensify the actual state of it, which gives rise to such acts.

These deeds which originate from the Nafs are discussed in two ways : (1) From the view point of their obligatory nature, as their execution is demanded from every one without any difference in their apparent and inner significance. The deeds are performed on a fixed line and no excuses are tenable in the matter. This is the science of theology. (2) The second is from the view point of the utility of these deeds in regard to the education of the Nafs. It is to create and develop the virtues of Sa'adat by these deeds. This is the science of mysticism or *'Ilmul Ihsan.* Ihsan virtually is a state of mind or the self (Nafs) by which one feels oneself present before God while in prayer.

The Reviewer of the Ihsan needs two things to complete his investigations. (1) To realise the motives of the deeds which create a requisite state in the Nafs. (2) To understand the nature of the states of the Nafs so that the deeds may be performed with great care. Such a person can be a physician of the Nafs.

The state of Ihsan can be created in the Nafs by four qualities (vide chapter on Sa'adat) *viz.*, Purity, Generosity, Justice or Moderation, and Humility.

The most useful thing for the development of these qualities is "To ponder over the mercy and gifts of God". The mystics call this sort of meditation as *Muraqba.* The best way of meditation is to ponder over the meaning of the verses bearing the significance of God's mercy and His gifts *without illustrations* (tashbih) : that is, keeping only the justice of God before the mind For this, one should fix some time at a particular hour of the day, when one is free from any physical urges. Next to that is to ponder over God's deeds of marvel. He created the earth and the heavens for a definite purpose. And also it is useful to ponder over the Days of God (Ayyamullah) and over Death (Maut). Recitation of the Holy Quran too helps to develop such qualities.

The man who possesses such state in the Nafs has a behaviour always praise-worthy. In fact, the words of the tongue portray the state of the heart (where soul is located). For instance when one is angery his words reflect of his anger. The state of the heart makes the tongue to move. The tongue is often mentioned as the source of all troubles (vide hadith of the holy Prophet).

81. Stages and States of the Heart

There are certain effects of the Ihsan which are usually called Muqamat and ahwal (i.e. Stages and States)

Every man possesses three important faculties (lata'if) viz., Heart, Intelligence, and Liver (Qalb, 'Aql, and Kabad). The heart as a matter of fact is regarded as superior to the other two. The heart controls the sentiments and emotions like love, anger, intention and choice. The disposition or liver controls the instintictive urges And Intelligence is the power by which one understands perceived things.

Intelligence is located in the brain or head, and the disposition in the liver. The function of each part is dependent on the other two parts, and one faculty works with the co-operation of the other two faculties The development of one is also in proportion to the assistance of the other two. Each one of them has a separate domain which it rules.

The power of each of these faculties vary from person to person. In some people the disposition is more powerful than the heart. Some have their intelligence dominant over the disposition and the heart, and so on.

The manners or Akhlaq of the man whose self or disposition is strong but in the control of the heart and obeys at the same time orders of the Intelligence, are always perfect. The animals too, to some extent, possess bile predominant. So, they could not be entrusted with any responsibility Man for the reason of his intelligence has been given the Kingdom of the land and the sea. But to make him a true believer, it is necessary that his intelligence should be subordinate to his faith (taught by the Prophet) The Prophet, in fact, possesses sound intelligence and body, but he has other sources of information by which he has strengthened the Faith.

As the above mentioned virtues get established in the self of a man and control his actions, he has reached the real spiritual stage (Maqam). But if they appear only in the form of flashes, they are minor states of the self. A thorough study of the thing would reveal the fact that the basis of these states in intelligence is '*confidence*' (Yaqin) from which originates Unity (Tauhid), Sincerity, Reliance on God (Tawakkul), Gratitude, Love, Fear, Singleness, (Tafrid), Truth etc. According to Abdullah b Mas'ud, Yaqin is the real Faith. Yaqin means to have faith in all the Masa'il of the Shariah, such as life-after-death, Predestination. Yaqin is faith because it can educate the intelligence, which in turn influences the heart and the Nafs (Self).

The states of the heart are: *Jamia* (concentration) *i e.*, to attend to the affairs of the world to come. The mystics call it *iradah* or *will*. The will or iradah of a man moves the generosity of God to action : it is the soul of du'a (invocation). 2 The man becomes the favourite of angels and men 3. His prayers are granted. 4 Self annihilation and life-with God (Fani bin Nafs wa Baqi billah). 5 Reflection of the spiritual states of the Prophet on his Nafs-i-Natiqa.

The states of the heart (when the virtues are not thoroghly achieved) are: 1. Sukr, that is to lose interest in the affairs of the world and be attached to a thing which man ordinarily hates. It is a kind of state of intoxication. 2. *Ghalba* (predominance). To be deeply lost in love for God or sharia-i-Islam. 3 Preference of God's worship over other things. 4. Fear of God.

The states of the Nafs or Disposition are: Ghibat or disappearance of desires from the Disposition. 2. Mah'q that is to control some of the desires or to give them up (such as eating and drinking) for a time which is not usually possible. The intelligence of such a person become lit up with Divine Light which descends to his disposition and serves as a substitute for his food.

82. God has fixed the means of every one's livelihood from the produce of the land and has called upon him to work to it. Since man cannot procure all of his requirements single-handed, God made cooperation as an essential feature of his life.

It is therefore necessary that every one should take up some work which he is capable of and help the society in fulfilling its needs. Procurement of any means without any labour (such as by gambling and usury is declared unlawful because it amounts to an oppression by one person over the other. Interference by someone in the regular means of others is also forbidden. For such trespassing is likely to create disorder in the society. The man who by his hard labour reclaims any barren land, should be regarded as the rightful owner of it, provided this reclamation does not involve the right of any other person. In case anyone dies without any legitimate heir, his property should be attached by the state.

Grazing yards, meadows, forests and the mines should be a common property. It would be unwise on the part of the state if the mines are given over to a particular person or persons. Such a step would deprive many poor people of their daily requirements.

In the matter of mutual dealings, the state should see that every one is fair, and fulfils his promises.

The state should see that the professions are not out-balanced by requirements. If in a town majority of the people take up arts and crafts as their vocation and only a few are left for agriculture and cattle-breeding, food-stuff will run short and that may result in the deterioration of the social order. Or if majority of the people go idle as the nobles usually do and live upon the labour of others, the result will be bad. It is generally seen that the feudal lords or nobles of some towns live in pomp and show, feel attracted towards handsome girls, and encourage several professions of entertainment. Under the circumstances, a large number of people are engaged in preparing artistic dresses, gold, silver, and diamond ornaments for them, or build magnificent houses for their residence, or entertaining them in many other ways. There is no one left to look after the needs of the poor, and vocational life therefore suffers a set back. Such a thing is always bad for the society as a whole.

Mutual Help : Mutual help is of several kinds. Sadaqa (charity) is to render help to the poor, needy and travellers. Hadya (Gifts) is to exchange gifts with some one, or just to offer presents to any one. Hadya was introduced for fostering love and friendship among the people. It is necessary for the

receiver of the gift that he should also send something in return. But if he is not rich enough to do so he should at least send a word of thanks. Wasiat (Bequest) is to leave something for the poor or any relative at the time of death. Waqf (donation for some pious cause) is to leave some property or wealth for some pious cause like educational institution or a cara-van-sarai or anything else.

Cooperation : Cooperation in work is of several categories :

(*i*) *Madaribat* : It is an enterprise where one invests money and the other his labour, and both of them distribute the profit according to the agreemeet (2) *Mafawidat* is a business by two persons by equal investments wherein they put in their equal labour and divide equally the proft. (3) *Al-i-nan* is an investment of equal amounts by different persons but no one is responsible for the security of other's capital.

(4). *Shirkatul Sana'i* (Cooperation of craftsmen). It is working of several people of different professions together and distributing equally the profit (5) *Wakalat* or *Brokerage* : It is to work by one man for another: (6) *Musaqat* : That is garden of one, labour of another and the fruit for both according to their agreement (7) *Muzari'a* (Cultivation) land and seed of one and labour and oxen of the other (8) *Makhabira* : That is, land of one, seed, oxen and labour of another. Or labour of one and land etc , of another

83. Siayasatul Mudan (Administration of Towns) :

An administration cannot be perfect unless it is headed by a capable caliph, who fights against the enemies of the state, administers justice, prevents high-handedness and tries his utmost to glorify his religion The Prophet has divided a state into four major departments *viz* Muzalim (Inequities), Hudud (Limitations), Qada (Justice), Jihad (Holy wars)

According to Shah Wali Allah, a caliph should be selected from among the adults or grown up people who is physically and mentally sound He should be of a family which is renowned for its valour and statesmanship It would be better if he is selected from the Quraishites who are proverbial for their nobility, courage and war tactics.

Any suitable method can be adopted for the election or selection of the caliph. He may be elected by the nobles of the nation, its learned men or commanders of the forces; by nomination (the dying caliph may suggest any name for the post): or by consultation among the large groups of the people. But if any one forcibly occupies the caliphal throne, the people should not at once stand up against him But they should wait and see his general behaviour towards them and their faith. If he interferes with their work and religion, they should declare war on him and do their utmost to oust him from his position.

The caliph and his subordinate should get their pay from the state treasury, but so much as it is sufficient for their simple needs.

Al-Mazalim (Inequities) One of the many objects of the advent of a Prophet is to remove inequities from the people. Inequity or tyranny is of three kinds :- Tyranny against one's body (beatings), and against one's property. It is the duty of the head of the state to see that no one applies force against another. The caliph has also to see that the permissions and prohibitions of the shariah are carefully observed. He should make arrangements for settling mutual quarrels of the people, and should see that no injustice is done to any party.

Of all the shariahs, the most perfect is that one wherein there is a provision for Jehad or religious wars. If the people are obliged to do anything, it is quite necessary that there be a provision for applying force, because mere persuation does not always bear fruit. War is absolutely essential to eliminate certain defective parts of the society which are likely to contaminate the whole of it

Jihad is included in the Divine Plan and united with His secret knowledge (Ilham), and the initiator of it therefore, has a divine Support. In fact, fighting for the sake of Shariah is to fight in the path of God "Those who are killed in His path, are not dead, but alive and are being fed by Him regularly." Their death is just similar to a busy man who gets a nap for a while. Their Nasma (Animal Soul) retains the perfection attained in life through the acquisition of knowledge, and they become the recipients of Divine Mercy.

The standard of Islam can be raised high only if its followers cultivate habits of great endurance for difficulties of war. To run away from the battlefield is a cowardice, the worst of all human qualities. Also, the crusader must be merciful towards women and children.

The enemy property should be used for maintaining the poor, and the helpless, defence of the land, and for preaching Islam among the nations. It can also be used for digging cannals, construction of bridges etc.

84. Dreams.

Dreams are of various kinds : (1) Divine Revelation. (2). Symbolic representation of the good and evil impressions of the Nafs. (3). Nightmares. (4). Mental imagination to which Nafs is accustomed in wakefulness The ideas are retained in the imaginative faculty and reappear in the common sense (Hissi mushtarak) (5) Natural ideas created by the predominance of the humour, as in the case of one suffering from yellow bile who always sees water in his dreams.

As Nafs-i-Natiqa gets relief from the physical obstacles (Hijabat-i-Tabi'i) it begins to receive divine knowledge. Such a dream, in fact, is an education of the Nafs imparted by God Himself. It is like *Ascension in the dream*' (M'ira'j) of the Prophet in which he saw God in a beautiful form.

Note ; The ascension of the Prophet was physical and real.

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